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The AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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Arndt and the Character of German Nationalism

HANS KOHN

ERNST Moritz Arndt was born in Swedish Pomerania in 1769 and, like most Germans of his time, felt no attachment to Germany but only loyalty to his territorial prince, in his case the king of Sweden.¹ In his long life—he died in 1860 at the age of ninety-one—he lived through all the stages of the unfolding German nationalism: from the late years of Frederick II to the threshold of Bismarck's triumphs. But for him, as for German nationalism in general, the years of the Napoleonic wars were decisive. His reactions to the revolutionary events in France were not different from those of the majority of German intellectuals of that period; he even welcomed Napoleon in an ode, "Der Mächtige."² But he discovered his German patriotism much

¹ See Richard Wolfram, *Ernst Moritz Arndt und Schweden* (Weimar, 1933). Alfred G. Pundt, *Arndt and the Nationalist Awakening in Germany* (New York, 1935) contains a very good bibliography. Later books on Arndt are: Hermenegild Kuhn, *Arndt und Jahn als völkisch-politische Denker* (Langensalza, 1936); Hans Polag, *E. M. Arndts Weg zum Deutschen. Studien zur Entwicklung des frühen Arndt, 1769-1812* (Leipzig, 1936); Rudolf Fahrner, *Arndt, Geistiges und Politisches Verhalten* (Stuttgart, 1937); Ibo Ibbeken, *Ernst Moritz Arndt und die christlich-germanische Bewegung seiner Zeit* (Greifswald, 1937).

² Arndt, *Gedichte. Vollständige Sammlung* (Berlin, 1860), p. 28.

sooner than other German writers; from 1801 on he regarded Napoleon as the archenemy. His opposition to him was not motivated so much by the defense of individual liberty against tyranny; it was rather a conscious rejection of the cosmopolitanism which made so many hail Napoleon's plans for world order. In the years 1798 and 1799 Arndt had traveled widely in parts of Germany, Italy, and France. There he discovered the reality of nationality and the deep differences created, as he believed, by language and geographic conditions. He welcomed this diversity and turned violently against those who saw in the union of the European nations a progressive step toward a higher human nobility. The fruit of this newly found nationalism was *Germanien und Europa*, which he wrote in 1802 and which appeared the following year.

"For the benefit of the whole world as well as for the benefit of each individual nationality there must not be any universal union," he postulated. Each nationality should develop through the cultivation of its own national character and its constitution must be adapted to this character. He rejected the then widely held view that it was enough for the Germans to excel by the universality and intensity of their intellectual life and that they did not need the bond of a common state and political strength. "That Germany has gone so far as it has in the cultural field, it certainly does not owe to its political disunity," he wrote. "I believe that it would have progressed farther if it were politically united. . . . Only if we had a fatherland, if we had the highly human and highly political ideas of an independent, united, and strong nationality, only then would we gain steadfast habits, firm character, and a perfect form, then alone the highest and most wonderful humanity could grow from such earthly roots to gleaming sunny heights."⁸ He had no clear concept of German political unity, nor did he foresee the road to its realization, but he emphasized the need of new and stronger ties for the German Reich and promised to devote all his strength to awakening the demand for it and to keeping the thought of it alive. Arndt had found his way from the local loyalty of the Swedish subject to German nationalism. From Stockholm he wrote to his friend Charlotte von Kathen on June 4, 1807: "I shall not abandon my German fatherland and its sacred cause as long as there is a drop of warm blood in me. I feel now more intimately than ever that I belong to the Germans and that I could not nor would I belong to any other people."

He was one of the very first to insist on German political unity. Like Stein and other German patriots he could not imagine a Germany cut off from

⁸ *Germanien und Europa* (Altona, 1803), p. 429.

its historical traditions and envisaged the restoration of the imperial dignity of the Habsburgs. The events of 1814 disillusioned him. The Habsburgs themselves abandoned the thought of the restoration of the empire and relinquished the old Habsburg lands on the Rhine and in Swabia by which Austria had stood guard on the western border of Germany. On the other hand Prussia, by the acquisition of new provinces in the West, took up the guard on the Rhine and became much more representative of the German nation, uniting Catholics and Protestants and stretching from the old eastern march on the Baltic to the Moselle and Meuse. From then on Arndt looked upon Prussia as the leader of political unity for Germany. He regarded the Prussian monarchy as the supreme embodiment, as the personification of the popular will, and he wished to endow it with added strength by the mobilization of the popular forces in support of the state. He thus aspired to a synthesis of the democratic nationalism of the French Revolution with the traditional hierarchical structure of German society. He never despaired of the realization of his ideal of harmony between princely will and popular will in Prussia. He made it his task to create an educated public opinion which would favor such a solution. He almost attained it in 1848 when, in his eightieth year, as a member of the Frankfurt parliament, he implored the king of Prussia to accept the imperial crown offered to him by parliament. He died ten years before Bismarck realized his dream, one of the last survivors of the period when the German intellectuals abandoned the universalism and humanism of the eighteenth century for a newly discovered militant nationalism.

French nationalism—alike in this to Anglo-American nationalism—was born in the enthusiasm of a revolution, in an attempt to reform the state and to build a better society. German nationalism—as all non-Western nationalism—was born in the war against France, not in an attempt to secure better government, individual liberty, and due process of law but in an effort to drive out a foreign ruler and to secure national independence. The word liberty did not mean, as it did for the Western peoples, the assertion of the rights of the individual against his government but of the independence of the nation against foreign rule even if this rule were mild and more progressive than that of the domestic rulers had been. When the Western peoples strove for regeneration, it had for its purpose the individual; in central and eastern Europe the demand for regeneration centered on the group. Arndt like Schleiermacher and Jahn believed that only a long war could regenerate the Germans, and he wished therefore to prolong the war against France. On December 1, 1812, he wrote from St. Petersburg to Adam Georg Fried-

rich von Horn, an officer in the Russian German legion, complaining that most people looked frightened or dumbstruck when he told them that if the Germans wished to become really free they must continue the war against the French for at least five years or longer. The rising French nationalism found a political nation which it could transform; the rising German nationalism did not find any German nation; it had to create it out of elements which it found in language and history, in nature and geography.

In the second part of his *Geist der Zeit*, which Arndt published in 1809, he asked, "I wish to speak to my people, but how shall I address you, German people? What and where are you? I seek but cannot find you." French nationalist thinkers were bound to the reality of their nation and the responsibility which reality imposed; the Germans had to roam free and irresponsible far into the past and into the future, into the deep secrets of nature and the lofty flights of dreams to find or forge their nation. Their nationalism awakened under foreign pressure and it could thus take shape only in the fight against foreign forces. Though it did not lack elements of moral regeneration within, it was primarily a call to arms against the alien. Arndt recognized that clearly: "May a general love grow among us, and a lasting hatred against the crafty foreigners, for only then shall we be saved and the liberty of our children assured. It is the highest religion to strive and die for those objects which are sacred to mankind and which deteriorate under any tyranny" (to Arndt and his generation the truly hated tyranny was foreign tyranny); "it is the highest religion to love the fatherland more deeply than laws and princes, fathers and mothers, wives and children." His love for the fatherland was inextricably linked with hatred of the foreign enemy, hatred of all those at home who supported him or accommodated themselves to his rule.

Yes, I hate, it is my joy and my life that I still can hate; I hate deeply and hotly; but I hate nothing more hotly and deeply than you, lazy and good-for-nothing fellows who are not ashamed to voice German shame in German language. Why should a man not hate who wished to do something in the world, for who can love without hating? And I love my fatherland and its honor and liberty above all; I love my liberty; I love the sanctuaries which past centuries have bequeathed to us to preserve them. I love science and the light which despotism would like to annihilate from the earth. Therefore I cry out my ire before God and man; therefore I call for hatred in life and death, hatred, the only powerful savior and helper.

After 1806, the dissolution of the ancient Reich and the crushing defeat of Prussia, most Germans accepted the "new order" of Napoleonic leadership as inevitable. Many intellectuals saw in it the confirmation of their

eighteenth century cosmopolitan expectations. Arndt was one of the few writers who never ceased to stress his rejection of universality and his insistence upon separated nationality. Rationalism and enlightenment might favor the unification of mankind, an end to the hatreds and divisions inherited from the past and to the wars between nations. The progress of the human race, these cosmopolitans proclaimed, could be seen in the very fact that through the forces of reason mankind was becoming one and that all ancient prejudices and superstitions waned. This rising universal love or philanthropy seemed to them to characterize the new age. In his "Address of Hope of the Year 1810" Arndt did not deny that there might be some truth in this interpretation, but only for the contemplative man. "Active man will be guided by something else and will be guided by something else through all eternity, by a dark force which is also of the age, and by a darker love which he would not like to explain to himself even if he could, by that deep love in his people, its way of life, its language which from childhood has become an inseparable part of the innermost recesses of his being." It was a wonderful and dear secret of nature to Arndt that these deep and dark forces remained unchanged through the centuries however outer forms might change. Against the hopes of enlightened rationalism for a united humanity, the old dark forces of the past seemed to prevail and determine man. Man could think of mankind; he could only act and live out of his national past, out of his national character.⁴

This German national character seemed to Arndt determined by common language and common descent. These two elements formed the uniting bond among all Germans and constituted them a German nation. In both respects the German excelled over all other nations. They represented the purest race, they spoke the purest language. This twofold purity guaranteed their creative superiority.

The Germans are not bastardized by alien peoples, they have not become mongrels, they have remained more than many other peoples in their original purity and have been able to develop slowly and quietly from this purity of their kind and nature according to the lasting laws of time; the fortunate Germans are an original people. For our ancestors we have a great piece of evidence from one of the greatest men who ever lived, from the Roman Tacitus. This extraordinary man who with his prophetic eyes penetrated the depth of the human heart and the depths of nature, the present time and the future, clearly saw the worth of our fathers, and prophesied their splendid future; and so far history has not contradicted him. But of all things he saw most clearly how important it was for the future greatness and majesty of the German people that they were pure and re-

⁴ "Hoffnungsrede vom Jahre 1810" in Arndt, *Schriften für und an seine lieben Deutschen* (I-III, Leipzig, 1845; IV, Berlin, 1855), IV, 32 ff.

sembled only themselves, that they were no mongrels; for he saw his Italy, which had once been the mistress of the world, a bastardized canaille, cursed and out-cast, defile the memories of the Fabricians and Cornelians and the proud Roman soul bled and writhed because there were no longer any true Romans.⁵

More than purity of race, however, language constituted for Arndt a nation. He returned again and again to its importance. Language seemed to him the best guarantee of the differentiation among nations. That various nations could use the same language and yet maintain their separate nationalities did not apparently trouble Arndt. He was deeply influenced by Herder and Fichte. Like the former, he regarded it as the greatest tragedy when a people abandoned its language and accepted an alien one, for he regarded language as the outward image of the innermost recesses of the mind and soul of a people, the instrument which from childhood molds and guides man's thoughts and feelings. Arndt believed that language helped to produce and to keep alive, to his great satisfaction, those antipathies and dislikes which protect the independence of a people better than fortified cities and unsheathed swords. Otherwise peoples might lose their peculiarities and be in danger of becoming "*solche Allerweltmenschen, die man Sklaven und Juden nennt.*"

But Arndt went far beyond Herder. To the latter a small, peaceful, and pastoral people could have a wonderful language, its expressive beauty or its worth were entirely independent of political power. Arndt, however, was convinced that "only a whole people, only a whole great people, always certain that it is a glorious and mighty people, only a whole people in their real possession and in their effective exercise of a vital and free political life, can have a whole language." Like Fichte, Arndt believed that among the European peoples whom he equated with the Germanic-Romans, the Germans alone had an original language, the *Ursprache*, not a mixed mongrel language as the others. The creative superiority of the Germans over French and Italians, Englishmen and Spaniards was based on this originality of language as it was on the purity of the race. All creative power originated with the people. "All great things which a man does, forms, thinks, and invents as a hero, an artist, a lawgiver or an inventor—all that comes to him only from the nation."⁶ Arndt was certain that God decreed the diversity of languages so that mankind did not become a lazy and good-for-nothing

⁵ "Fantasien zur Berichtigung der Urteile über künftige deutsche Verfassungen" (1815), in Arndt, *Ausgewählte Werke*, ed. by Heinrich Meisner and Robert Geerds (Leipzig, n. d.) pt. 15, p. 115. Similarly in his "Über den deutschen Studentenstaat" (1815), *ibid.*, pt. 13, p. 304, he regarded the Germans as "a very youthful and poetic people" as a result of their purity of race which Tacitus had praised.

⁶ Arndt, *Ansichten und Aussichten der Teutschen Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1814), I, 461.

gang of slaves. Here the interpretation of God's will by Arndt differed apparently from that of the Bible, according to which God instituted the diversity of languages not to improve men but to punish them for building the Tower of Babel. What appeared to Arndt a blessing was regarded in the Bible as a curse.⁷

Fichte and Arndt were not alone at that time in expressing the importance of language as the element constituting the German nation. Friedrich Schlegel shared their conviction that "the use of a foreign language for legislation and for transaction in civil law is always most depressing, yes, one could say entirely unjust; the use of a foreign language for the affairs of the state, and connected with it also for the life of higher society, cannot remain without damaging effects on the native language. . . . A nation that allows itself to be deprived of its language, loses the last support of its spiritual and intellectual independence and in reality ceases to exist."⁸ But Schlegel too went far beyond Herder in his linguistic nationalism. He wished to recognize the right to their own tongue only of independent and powerful nations. He used the argument of language to strengthen the Germans in their struggle with the French. He rejected its application to the Slavic and other "backward" tongues in their struggle against the Germans. The German language appeared so superior that others struck the ear of the German hearer as almost subhuman. A German army volunteer reported from Paris in 1815 his impressions: "What mirrors the soul of a people, molds and embodies its ideas, is the language which therefore has a peculiar character corresponding to the quality of the people. The French language is not an orderly organic language but resembles animal noises [*Gequäck, Geklatsch, Geschnatter*]."⁹ The only language that could compare to German in creative beauty and purity and human significance was to the Germans of that generation the Greek language.

But the German language had more than creative values: it was the only visible and uniting bond which remained to the Germans after the dissolution of the Reich. It linked the Germans to their glorious past, it united them as brothers for a common effort and a common understanding. Leonhard Graf von Rotkirch und Panthen addressed in his poem "An die

⁷ "Der Rhein, Deutschlands Strom, aber nicht Deutschlands Grenze" (1813), *Ausgewählte Werke*, pt. 13, p. 190. There Arndt claimed also that "what God plans in the mighty and secret court of times, is not hidden to us, it is not a secret to us for even a minute." What God wills is nationalism, what He rejects is internationalism. "*Verflucht aber sei die Humanität und der Kosmopolitismus, womit ihr prahlet! Jener allweltliche Judensinn, den ihr uns preist als den höchsten Gipfel menschlicher Bildung.*"

⁸ Friedrich Schlegel, *Sämmtliche Werke*, Originalausgabe, 15 vols., ed. by E. von Feuchtersleben (Vienna, 1846), II, 34 f.

⁹ *Rheinischer Merkur*, Oct. 31, 1815.

deutsche Sprache" (1810) the language which was "born in an oakgrove" as:

*Unser Stolz und uns're letzte Zierde,
Schlingst der Eintracht letztes heil'ges Band
Uns besiegt zerrissne Vaterland.*

He pictured the German language centuries ago roaming in unadorned poverty through primeval forests and calling the Cherusci to battle and jubilating when Roman power lay broken. Thus again he hoped, language would call up Teutonia to battle:

*Ja du wirst, Teutonia, erwachen,
Der Begeistrung heilig hehre Wut
Wird zur hohen Himmelsflamme fachen
Deinen tief in Staub gebeugten Mut.*

Then in the poet's vision a victorious people will spread the German tongue far throughout the world, and it will become the voice of the sages, and Apollo will, delighted, hear on its strings the sound of Hellas. A few years later, the miracle which Count Rotkirch expected from the German language had happened. In his "Germania" in 1814 he could proclaim:

*Wo kraftvoll frei erklingen deutsche Töne
Sind Brüder, sind Thuiskon's edle Söhne,
Germania ist aller Vaterland.*

And Theodor Körner's "Jägerlied" (1813) summed up entirely in the spirit of Arndt the union of language and fatherland, of brotherhood and blood, of vengeance and sword.

*Aus West, Norden, Süd und Ost
Treibt uns der Rache Strahl,
Vom Oderflusse, Weser, Main,
Vom Elbstrom und von Vater Rhein
Und aus dem Donautal.
Doch Brüder sind wir allzusam;
Und das schwellt unsern Mut.
Uns knüpft der Sprache heilig Band,
Uns knüpft ein Gott, ein Vaterland,
Ein treues, deutsches Blut.*

The most important of these songs in honor of the German language was Arndt's own "Das Deutsche Vaterland," in which he answered the question "what is the German's fatherland?" with the famous assertion that it was neither Prussia nor Austria, nor Bavaria nor Thuringia, it was not a state

which existed, not a political community anywhere on the map; it was the dominion of the German tongue which gave to all Germans a common fatherland. The song which was the most popular German patriotic song until it was replaced two generations later by the "Wacht am Rhein" called upon the Germans to create one fatherland out of all lands where German was spoken. This land would be at the same time the home of truth and loyalty where every Frenchman would be called enemy and every German friend.

*Was ist des Deutschen Vaterland?
So nenne mir das grosse Land!
So weit die Deutsche Zunge klingt
Und Gott im Himmel Lieder singt,
Das soll es sein!
Das, wackrer Deutscher, nenne dein!*

*Das ist des Deutschen Vaterland,
Wo Eide schwört der Druck der Hand,
Wo Treue hell vom Auge blitzt
Und Liebe warm im Herzen sitzt—
Das soll es sein!
Das, wackrer Deutscher, nenne dein!*

*Das ist des Deutschen Vaterland,
Wo Zorn vertilgt den welschen Tand,
Wo jeder Franzmann heisset Feind,
Wo jeder Deutsche heisset Freund—
Das soll es sein!
Das ganze Deutschland soll es sein!*

Arndt's nationalism was born in a struggle against France, and though his judgments of the French became rarely as coarse and unbalanced as those of Jahn, the French throughout appeared to him the very opposite of the Germans, superficial and vainglorious, satisfied with an easy and graceful surface. "The Frenchmen are a talking, the German a thinking people."¹⁰ French civilization seemed to him tied up with court and capital, not with the people, and the events of the French Revolution confirmed him in the opinion that Paris directed France at the expense of the rural countryside which Arndt saw as the depository of all national virtues. He denied to the French individuality of character and he deduced from it their gregariousness and their eagerness to conform to the standards of society and to obey the whims of despots. How could people like that become a model for other nations? "Can those men educate who themselves are no men, who give you artificiality for nature, elegance for beauty, illusion for virtue, fashion for

¹⁰ *Schriften für und an seine lieben Deutschen*, I, 405.

morality, and chatter for thoughts? Who understand, appreciate and esteem nothing foreign? . . . Incapable of eternal ideas of deep enthusiasm, blissful ecstasy, human longing, for which they even lack words; making fun of the holiest and highest of mankind for the sake of wittiness," truly a people like that could have only one good effect upon the Germans, to arouse them to an appreciation of their own superiority of character and worth. Naturally enough, the hatred of the French found its strongest expression in 1813 when as a result of Napoleon's rout in Russia the faith in Napoleon's invincibility began to waver among the Germans. The German patriots saw, for the first time, their efforts rewarded by incipient success and tried to spur, by word and deed, the national awakening. Arndt became the trumpet calling to battle: "*I hate all Frenchmen without distinction in the name of God and of my people. . . . I teach this hatred to my son, I teach it to the sons of my people. . . . I shall work all my life that the contempt and hatred for this people strike deepest roots in German hearts and that German men learn to understand who they are and whom they confront.*"¹¹

Arndt's aversion was not only directed against the French and against enlightened rationalism—or the glittering superficiality and shallow artificiality, as he would have called it—for which they stood; he rejected as emphatically the absolute monarchy of the eighteenth century which he regarded as a product of French and rationalist influences. Himself of peasant stock, he found infinitely more life and truth, poetry and religion in the people. He was not a romanticist; for that he remained too near to the people and the soil, too much devoted to the virtues of home and discipline. He did not look backward to the Middle Ages or to the feudal order, he looked forward to the rise of a nation in which all classes would participate actively and as of right, in which a vigorous public opinion would stand guard against excesses and would assure the necessary adjustments or orderly progress. If he looked abroad for political guidance he did not look to France, which he found oscillating between revolutionary chaos and absolute monarchy, a people at the same time servile and licentious, but to England and Sweden where in his opinion Germanic ways were better preserved. Both offered him also the spectacle of a united nation, a goal which he set before the German nation. "Sweden is a unified kingdom and has long been under one rule; her great kings, heroes, prophets, soothsayers, and poets belong entirely to her, belong to every man, and every man is proud of them. For many centuries we have had only division of territory and of hearts, and in many places are so divided from one another that great German names are

¹¹ *Ibid.*, I, 335.

known only in one locality and one even curses what another blesses."¹²

To form the Germans into a nation, patriotism and liberty were needed. Of patriotism Arndt found many beautiful and memorable words in the warmth of his heart and the fire of his zeal. But liberty he interpreted much more in the sense of national independence and of the right to follow, without any foreign interference, traditional and ancestral ways than as the safeguard of individual rights. In the *Kurze Katechismus für deutsche Soldaten*, which he wrote in 1812 in St. Petersburg for the members of the German legion formed in Russia, he fought those "miserable, cold, and calculating men who say: Fatherland, Liberty, beautiful and high-sounding names without meaning! Wherever man is happy there is his fatherland, and where he is least plagued, there is liberty, everything else is empty dreams and illusions."¹³ Arndt rejected the *ubi bene ibi patria*, and apparently he did not believe that man could find a new fatherland by migration and that he could decide for it not purely out of a quest for happiness but out of a sense of loyalty to higher values, political or religious freedom, which were denied in his old land and which he found in the new home. Arndt maintained:

The fatherland is not there where men can lead the most abundant, carefree life but there where he spent the innocent years of childhood and the joyous years of youth, where he heard the first sweet sounds of friendship and love, where he first saw stars shining and springs flowing. . . . There, there is his fatherland. All the pulses of his heart beat for it, for it his love looks lovingly—and be it barren rocks or desert islands, and be poverty and hard work his lot, there he must love it, for he is human. There is his liberty where he can live according to the mores, customs, and laws of his people where what formed the happiness of his ancestors makes him happy too, where no foreign people and no foreign law hold sway over him. Such a fatherland, such a liberty are the most sacred that the good man has on earth and desires to have. But in some ways the calculating idle talkers [*die Klügler und Schwätzer*] are right too: Fatherland and liberty are a lofty dream, an exalted idea which soars high above the earth, a sacred and incomprehensible illusion [*Wahn*] which the human heart can never penetrate because it is beyond earthly man. When the name "fatherland" and "liberty" sound in our souls with all their sweetest love and loyalty, then the eternal, the immortal, the immeasurable through which we resemble God takes hold of us and transforms us into seers, heroes, and martyrs.

¹² Quoted in Eugene N. Anderson, *Nationalism and the Cultural Crisis in Prussia, 1806–1815* (New York, 1939), p. 80.

¹³ In the style of Old Testament prophets Arndt expanded his "short catechism" the next year into his famous "Katechismus für den Deutschen Kriegs- und Wehrmann, worin gelehrt wird, wie ein christlicher Wehrmann sein und mit Gott in den Streit gegen soll." There Arndt defined as *Freiheit* a condition "*wo keine fremden Henker über dich gebieten, und keine fremden Treiber dich treiben*," as if there would be freedom where one's own executioners and slave drivers are in power.

To Arndt nationalism was not as for Fichte an intellectual discovery, a by-path in the realization of a philosophy, nor was it primarily a political program, a guide for statesmanship; it was the outpouring of sentiment, the overflowing of a heart, a religious experience, the immersion of the individual into the élan, the security, the ecstasy of mass-comradeship. In 1813 Arndt wrote:

I have seen misfortune. I have suffered, it has scarcely moved me to tears. But when I have thought of the *Volck* and seen it and when the great feeling of it has gripped me, I have always had to weep in the depths of my soul. When a great crowd moves before me, when a band of warriors passes before me with flowing banners and sounding trumpets and drums, then I feel as if my feeling and acting were not an empty illusion, I feel the indestructible life, the eternal spirit, and the eternal God. . . . I am egoistic and sinful like other men, but in this exalted human feeling I am immediately freed from all sins, I am no longer a single suffering man, I am one with the *Volck* and God. In such moments doubts about my life and work disappear. The compulsion of my feelings tells me that I do right; I shall use this justification by my love and my hate because I must.¹⁴

In the same book, in the third part of his *Geist der Zeit*, Arndt suggested the same remedy in which he had found justification and salvation, to the Germans, the fraternal union of all individuals in the self-identification with the nation.

German man, feel again God, hear and fear the eternal, and you hear and fear also your *Volck*; you feel again in God the honor and dignity of your fathers, their glorious history rejuvenates itself again in you, their firm and gallant virtue re-blossoms in you, the whole German fatherland stands again before you in the august halo of past centuries! Then, when you feel and fear and honor all this, then you cry, then you lament, then you wrathfully reproach yourself that you have become so miserable and evil: then starts your new life and your new history. . . . From the North Sea to the Carpathians, from the Baltic to the Alps, from the Vistula to the Schelde, one faith, one love, one courage, and one enthusiasm must gather again the whole German folk in brotherly community; they must learn to feel how great, mighty, and happy their fathers were in obedience to one German emperor and one Reich, at a time when the many discords had not yet turned one against the other, when the many cowards and knaves had not yet betrayed them; . . . above the ruins and ashes of their destroyed fatherland they must weepingly join hands and pray and swear all to stand like one man and to fight until the sacred land will be free. . . . Feel the infinite and sublime which slumbers hidden in the lap of the days, those light and might spirits which now glimmer in isolated meteors but which soon will shine in all suns and stars; feel the new birth of times, the higher, cleaner breath of spiritual life and do not longer be fooled and confused by the insignificant and small. No longer Catholics and Protestants, no longer Prussians and Austrians, Saxons and Bavarians, Silesians and Hanoverians, no longer of different faith, different mentality, and different

¹⁴ Anderson, pp. 100 f.

will—be Germans, be one, will to be one by love and loyalty, and no devil will vanquish you.¹⁵

That such a nation might be formed, Arndt insisted in 1813, the Germans must show greater loyalty to their fatherland and to their folk than to the princes. For the princes existed for the sake of the fatherland and the folk, not the latter for the former. All the blessings came to man from the fatherland and the folk, not from the princes. The latter changed, the former were eternal. They, and not the princes, were truly by the grace of God the representatives of the divine on earth. All men, from the prince to the lowest beggar, must be imbued with the great feeling that the fatherland belonged equally to all and that all belonged equally to the fatherland. In that sense Arndt stressed in 1814 his conviction that all states were growing more democratic. By democracy he warned he did not mean Jacobinism but rather a limited monarchy. "Each people which has by its constitution representative bodies and estates composed of all classes of inhabitants, has a democratic constitution; for where the peasant and the burgher, this largest and most venerable part of each people, have received public representation, there one can speak of a democratic constitution; for the spirit and the power of the masses represented in these two classes will by necessity get hold of the other estates and will give them a folkish mentality." Of all the constitutional liberties, Arndt valued most highly in the national interest an unlimited freedom of the press. He regarded it as the foundation and bulwark of all other liberties. It alone could prevent the growth of lethargy and apathy in the nation and could keep alive a healthy movement of opinion. Arndt did not demand equality of the classes, which he judged a purely demagogic demand; he saw in the estates the natural and organic stratification and differentiation of a healthy nation, but he insisted on the participation of all estates in the common national life. Thus he worked for a synthesis of the princely and hierarchical state of the Germans with a people's state which the French Revolution had created.¹⁶ He always emphasized the need for a strong and healthy peasantry and in his later years, with the growth of the German middle class, he appreciated its importance.

In his *Fantasien für ein künftiges Deutschland*, which he wrote in Breslau in the spring of 1812, he drew the constitutional picture of the Germany which he envisioned. "A people which starts its liberty by destroying and overthrowing everything ancient and which imagines it can build every-

¹⁵ *Ausgewählte Werke*, pt. 11, pp. 186 f.

¹⁶ "Über künftige ständische Verfassungen in Deutschland" (1814), *ibid.*, pt. 13, pp. 212 ff.

thing anew through itself, will never be free. A people can build a new state only out of the existing elements, and the wisest legislator is the one who understands how to select from these elements the most alive and useful parts and to join them together in such a way that it becomes a healthy and strong body." His constitution foresaw a hereditary aristocracy but without privileges, and with only the primogenitary heir receiving the title of nobility, all other members of the family fusing with the other classes. But more important to him than the nobility was the peasantry which he wished to strengthen at the expense of the large estate owners and whom he wished to make secure by institutions similar to the primogeniture.

Arndt objected also to large standing armies which he regarded as the possible instrument of princely absolutism. Instead he asked, like Jahn, for a nation in arms, and education of the whole youth for military service, with professional soldiers employed only to guard the frontiers and the fortresses. But his democratic army organization did not involve a cult of pacifism. On the contrary, Arndt there as elsewhere took pains to reject the cosmopolitanism and universalism of the preceding generation. In the style of the Old Testament prophets, which he used in that period, he interpreted in the chapter "Of God, the unity of nations and church, and of perpetual peace" the will of God, saying: "*Sage diesen Klüglingen, die der Dünkel ihrer Dummheit aufbläst, dass ich nie gewollt habe, was sie Ein Volk und Eine Religion nennen. Das ist die Erfindung ihrer Toren und Buben.*" God, in the gospel, according to Arndt, not only rejected one world and one church, he rejected also peace.

Tell this lazy people: I am not the God of their perpetual peace; I am the God, the avenger, the terrifying, the destroyer who lusts for struggle and war. Otherwise all history which is my history would be a lie; for its beginning is war and its end will be war. Their peace is called death and rotting, my war is life and movement. To shed blood is always a horror, but not the blood which flows for liberty, for freedom and virtue. War and struggle, the live movement of live forces, that is my lust, thus my name is called, that is myself, I, God the Lord.¹⁷

Arndt's political plans for the new Germany rejected the bureaucratic police state of eighteenth century Prussia as strongly as autocracy which may guarantee economic security but stultifies intellectual liberty. "The worst state of all is the unlimited and lawless rule of a single man, the despotism where arbitrariness can, and generally does, tie down all free minds and where the greatest virtue is enclosed in . . . servile patience which affords the only security. In such a state it is a misfortune to have a mind and to be

¹⁷ Arndt, *Staat und Vaterland*, ed. by Ernst Müsebeck (Munich, 1921), pp. 5 f.

agitated by daring and virtuous impulses. Because in such a despotism man cannot be much more than a servile animal, he feels happiest the more he resembles a voracious and patient beast."¹⁸ His monarchy was far from being only a symbol of government as the British monarchy was; it was an institution with its own strength and power, not only equal to the parliament with which it shared legislation but superior to it, especially in everything concerning foreign policy, the military organization, and the domestic administration.¹⁹ In spite of all differences Bismarck's constitution for Germany, more than half a century later, realized the salient traits of Arndt's vision of a constitution appropriate to the German tradition. But more than Bismarck, Arndt stressed the responsible and free activity of the citizen as the bulwark of national strength. He wished to educate the German to be a citizen, not a free individual according to the ideas of classical humanism. "Only a people in which the impulses of society and of individualism are in harmony can be called a happy and just people and will know how to create and to preserve liberty. Who wishes always to be only *Volk* will be ultimately as much reduced to nothing as the one who wishes always to be only a human being. But the one who knows how to unite with dignity the human being and the *Volk*, he will be a citizen."²⁰ This true balance between individualism and nationalism Arndt saw best realized among the English. "The Frenchman wishes to be a courtier, the Englishman a citizen, the German a human being. The middle one of the three walks in greatest security; for French and German history have proved sufficiently how bad it is if by longing to be a courtier or a human being one neglects to be a citizen."²¹

Arndt was one of the most powerful nationalists in the period of the Napoleonic wars, a truly representative "*Erwecker zur Deutschheit*," one of the creators of the modern German consciousness. Like most nationalists he was neither an original or systematic thinker nor a great creative poet. But he had power and sincerity. In spite of the biblical language and images of much of his writings—the pietist influence of his youth survived in his style—

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

¹⁹ In his later years Arndt insisted more and more on the preponderance of monarchy in Germany. In 1850, in an article published in the periodical *Germania* he maintained that the German people "was so monarchical by education and mentality that even the population of the two great capitals of Germany [Vienna and Berlin], who at the beginning of the German revolution had raised arms against the governments, have turned again with their sympathies to their princes. The real desires and claims of our people seem to demand only that measure of freedom in the constitution of the state and of the municipalities as is in harmony with the monarchy, and not more; what goes beyond, is something alien and imported from without, which has not yet any root in the life of the German people." Quoted by Ernst Müsebeck, *ibid.*, p. lxxxiv.

²⁰ *Schriften für und an seine lieben Deutschen*, I, 404.

²¹ *Ibid.*, I, 468.

he was infinitely nearer to reality than Fichte or the romanticists and he never descended to the coarseness and vulgarity of Jahn. He preserved enough of rational clarity and intellectual responsibility not to succumb to the blind adoration of "the people." "*Nur durch die Einzelnen wird ein Volk, und nur durch die unterrichteten und gebildeten Einzelnen, wenn diese eine volle Weltkraft in ihrer Brust und in ihrem Leibe tragen, wird ein Volk brav und glücklich.*"²² But he did not put his hopes in the same ideal of humanism and universality which had inspired the greatest among the Germans, Kant and Goethe and Beethoven, and which had produced an unparalleled flowering of the German mind. These ideals seemed to him devoid of political guidance, removed from reality.

In the midst of terrifying revolutions which unhinge the world they hoped that the education of the mind, that the enlightened spirit of the time, as they call it, produce a moderation and unification of the noblest forces of the Europeans. This would put an end to the old pernicious struggles and would revive all the good and beautiful of the ancient world in even more glorious forms. Viewed from this lofty height, the political events—the overthrow of old thrones and constitutions, destructive wars, annihilation of nations—appeared to them as of only minor importance, nay, even perhaps helpful for the sublime purpose of the age as they understood it.

Arndt rejected this view. He was convinced that their imitation Hellenism could not arouse the enthusiasm of the people and that their fine-spun philosophical theories would not be able to banish the heavy sorrow of a plagued world. In the same second volume of his *Geist der Zeit* in which he published these lines, he printed his first four German war poems, among them the famous "Lob des Eisens," the praise of the hard black iron which he contrasted with the gold which a cowardly world demanded.

*Gold schreit die feige Welt,
Und Gold macht feige Knechte, ...
Drum preis' ich das Metall,
Das schlechte, schwarze Eisen.*

Germany seemed to him "the sacred heart of old Europe" and without its strength no salvation for Europe was possible. Geographically, Germany was the meeting ground and the synthesis of northern and of southern Europe; historically, most European peoples had been formed by tribes who had migrated from the German heartland and therefore the Germans could feel almost like parents of all the Europeans and could understand them; intellectually, the Germans have learned from the cultures of all other nations and

²² *Geist der Zeit*, pt. I, p. 432.

have inherited them, and thus developed a more universal humanity.

In that sense, the nationalist Arndt could join with the classical humanists in proclaiming a universalism, but it was a German universalism with the German as the representative pan-human being.

I wish to call him a Greek. On the higher level, he is a citizen of the world, the whole world is his, he seeks the whole world; he will go out, as far as the sun's rays dart and the winds blow, he wishes to see everything, to learn, to grasp, to understand everything, to explore and to assimilate the habits, ways and arts of all peoples. . . . The German is a universal man [*Allerweltmensch*], to whom God has given the whole earth as a home, and who, the more he has discovered and explored that home, the more intimately he will love his own smaller fatherland and the better he will build it.²³

He remained convinced even in the days after 1848 when his hope of a Germany united under Prussian leadership seemed foiled, and the German confederation under Austria's chairmanship was restored, of the realization of his hopes of 1815. On January 9, 1853, the old man, then in his eighty-fourth year wrote: "But the idea of unity and might of the greatest world-nation of the present earth will and must finally through the will of God and the course of nature break through, and all those who know and all those who think must not cease to uphold such prophecy."²⁴

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²³ Arndt, *Versuch in vergleichender Völkergeschichte* (Leipzig, 1843), p. 398.

²⁴ *Staat und Vaterland*, p. lxxxiv.

Archbishop Manasses I of Rheims and Pope Gregory VII

JOHN R. WILLIAMS

THE pontificate of Gregory VII (1073-1085) marked the high tide of the eleventh century movement to reform the western church. Throughout Europe the steps taken by Gregory to impose celibacy upon the clergy, to eradicate simony and lay investiture, and to centralize papal administration evoked loud and angry protests. The effective strength of the opposition to the papal program varied greatly, however, from one part of Europe to another. In the empire, the enemies of reform were sufficiently formidable to involve the papacy in a conflict of epic proportions. In Capetian France, on the other hand, they were able to do little more than carry on a series of desultory skirmishes against the pope and his legates.

The relatively mild character of the French conflict may in part be attributed to Gregory himself, who seems to have been more temperate and conciliatory in dealing with the weak Capetian monarchy than with the powerful Franconian empire. In greater measure, however, the unspectacular nature of the French struggle must be attributed to the weakness and disunity of the opponents of the papal program. Chief of these was the monarch, Philip I (1060-1108). Obviously Philip had every reason to fear Gregory's plans. They threatened both his prestige and his power. Presumably he was conscious of the danger and did all he could to resist. He possessed, however, too few advantages of character or of natural resources to permit him to play the part of a vigorous and aggressive national leader.¹

As a consequence of royal weakness the French bishops often found themselves called on to face alone the formidable pope and his equally formidable legates. Even so, had they but possessed some degree of unity they might have caused Gregory considerable embarrassment. The French pre-

¹ Brief accounts of the relations of Gregory and Philip are given by: Jacques Flach, *Les origines de l'ancienne France*, III (Paris, 1904), 303-308; Achille Luchaire in Ernest Lavisse's *Histoire de France depuis les origines jusqu'à la Révolution*, II (Paris, 1901), 172-73, 210-18; Louis Halphen, in *Cambridge Medieval History*, III (Cambridge, 1922), 110-15; Z. N. Brooke, in *ibid.*, V (Cambridge, 1926), 81-83. For more detailed treatment, consult the numerous works of Augustin Fliche, especially, *Le Règne de Philippe Ier, roi de France* (Paris, 1912), pp. 389-423; *La Réforme grégorienne*, II (*Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, Etudes et Documents*, Fasc. 9 [Louvain, 1925]), chaps. VI and VII; *Réforme grégorienne et reconquête chrétienne* (vol. VIII of Augustin Fliche and Victor Martin, *Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris, 1946), pp. 122-23.

lates were, however, hopelessly divided on the issue of reform. Most of them, moreover, lacked all capacity for taking a broad view of the situation which confronted them. Even in the face of common danger they could think only in narrowly personal or local terms. Though on rare occasions bishop might support bishop, steady and systematic opposition was out of the question. Thus on most occasions the papal forces had the advantage of being able to deal with the French prelates individually.

This is well illustrated by Gregory's relations with the leading ecclesiastic of the Capetian realm, Archbishop Manasses I. Thanks to the preservation of the papal registers, the main course of these relations has long been known to scholars.² The evidence which they provide is supplemented by the chronicles and annalists of the time. Since all these sources are sympathetic to reform, a somewhat distorted picture has inevitably resulted. Manasses proved to be a crafty and resourceful antagonist. Naturally reformers came to regard him as an incorrigible villain, and their estimate of him has persisted to the present. "Of Manasses himself," remarks Max Manitius, "little good is known."³ To this others who have had occasion to mention the archbishop have simply said "amen."

It is not the purpose of the writer to exonerate Manasses of the many evil deeds of which he was undoubtedly guilty. He does believe, however, that the archbishop had his virtues as well as his vices, and that a re-examination of his relations with Gregory is desirable.⁴

Although Archbishop Gervais of Rheims died on July 4, 1067, his successor, Manasses, does not appear to have been consecrated until early in 1070.⁵ His career before this date is totally unknown. He had probably been a canon of Rheims, but it is impossible to prove this.⁶ Our sources agree in

² The most detailed study is that of Max Wiedemann, *Gregor VII. und Erzbischof Manasses I. von Reims* (dissertation, Leipzig, 1884). Other accounts are: Guillaume Marlot, *Metropolis Remensis Historia*, II (Rheims, 1679), 165 ff.; *Histoire littéraire de la France*, VIII, 648 ff.; *Gallia Christiana*, IX, 70 ff.; Odon Jean Marie Delarc, *Saint Grégoire VII et la réforme de l'Eglise au XI^e siècle* (Paris, 1889), III, 340-56, 493-508; Fliche, *Ph. Ier*, pp. 417 ff., *Réf. grég.*, II, 222 ff., and *Réf. grég. et recon. chrét.*, pp. 100-101.

³ Max Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, III (Munich, 1931), 837.

⁴ After this article had been accepted for publication by the *American Historical Review*, Professor Gray C. Boyce of Northwestern University called my attention to the work of the German scholar, Heinrich Gaul, *Manasses I. Erzbischof von Reims*, I Teil: *Der unbekannte Manasses der ersten Jahre (1069 bis Frühjahr 1077)*, Bonn, Kath.-theol. Diss. (Essen, 1940). I am greatly indebted to Professor Boyce. I am equally indebted to Professor Eugen Rosenstock-Huessy of Dartmouth College, to Professor Peter Rassow of the University of Cologne, and to the author himself for making it possible for me to secure a copy of this work.

⁵ See *Gal. Chr.*, IX, 70, and the "Annales Remenses et Colonienses," *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*, XVI, 732, but especially, Gaul, pp. 119-23.

⁶ The Manasses, canon of Rheims, who figures in the correspondence of Alexander II with Archbishop Gervais, could have been Manasses of Châtillon, who later became provost of the chapter, and, in 1096, archbishop of Rheims. See Jacques-Paul Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CXLVI, 1319 and 1322.

describing him as "well-educated"⁷ and "noble,"⁸ yet they fail to give the name of the family to which he belonged. A remark of his own indicates that it was affiliated in some way with the houses of Bar-sur-Seine and Tonnerre.⁹

The circumstances which raised this obscure individual to the most important post in the French hierarchy have until recently been misunderstood. For this there has been a very good reason. Certain reputable writers of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries have provided a simple and plausible explanation of the mystery. Manasses, they charge, bought the position. Thus, Guibert of Nogent writes: "After the death of the most celebrated Archbishop Gervais, a certain Manasses intruded himself *through simony* into the government of the aforesaid city."¹⁰ Hugh of Flavigny has the same story to tell. In his account of the Council of Autun (September, 1077), he notes: "In the same council, Manasses, usurper of the Church of Rheims *through simony* was accused by the clerks of Rheims."¹¹ Little wonder that to the present time Manasses' rise to power has been attributed to simony!

It would be difficult to prove that Guibert and Hugh are entirely in error in this matter. Simony, in one form or another, was omnipresent in the eleventh century. Yet it is a remarkable fact that in the papal correspondence simony nowhere appears among the numerous complaints against Manasses. The reason for this becomes clear only when we examine the situation more closely.

Certain evidence bearing on Manasses' rise has been overlooked. This is found in the letter which he himself wrote to Gregory in 1077, after he had been excommunicated and suspended from office by the Council of Autun.¹²

⁷ "Benzonis Episcopi Albensis ad Heinricum IV Imperatorem Libri VII," *M.G.H., Scrip.*, XI, 657; "Vita Theoderici Abbatis Andaginensis," *ibid.*, XII, 49. The latter, to be sure, is speaking of "Gervasius Remorum archiepiscopus." Specific and detailed references to grants made to St. Hubert indicate, however, that the author intended Manasses, not Gervais. See *M.G.H., Scrip.*, VIII, 576, and *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XIV, 65, n. b.

⁸ "Dedicatio Ecclesiae S. Quintini Bellovacensis," *Rec. des hist.*, XIV, 29; Guibert de Nogent, *De vita sua (Histoire de sa vie)*, ed. by Georges Bourgin in *Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire*, Paris, 1907), lib. I, cap. xi, p. 30.

⁹ In a letter to Gregory VII he calls Hugh Rainard, bishop of Langres (1065-1085), "*noster consanguineus*." Hans Sudendorf, *Registrum oder merkwürdige Urkunden für die deutsche Geschichte*, I (Jena, 1849), 13. On the authority of a MS. preserved at Rheims in the seventeenth century, the *Gallia Christiana* (IX, 71) calls him Manasses of Gournai. An epitaph written for Manasses' mother, Adelaide, by Fulcoius of Beauvais survives in fragmentary form, published by Henri Omont, "Épigraphes métriques en l'honneur de différents personnages du XI^e siècle composées par Fulcoie de Beauvais, archidiacre de Meaux," *Mélanges Julien Havet* (Paris, 1895), p. 234. A brother, Hugh, is mentioned in the charters of Philip I. See Maurice Prou, *Recueil des actes de Philippe I^{er}, roi de France* (Paris, 1908), pp. 132 and 134. Gaul, pp. 116 ff., argues plausibly that Manasses belonged to the house of Rethel.

¹⁰ *De vita sua*, lib. I, cap. xi, p. 30.

¹¹ "Chronicle," *M.G.H., Scrip.*, VIII, 415.

¹² Sudendorf, I, 13-16. Wilhelm Mevs, *Zur Legation des Bischofs Hugo von Die unter*

Here he insists that the decision of the council was due to the machinations of his enemies. Prominent among these is Bishop Helinand of Laon, "whose hatred remains . . . because of the episcopal office which he lost in the presence of your dignity, and I obtained through the intercession of your paternity."¹³ This can only mean that Helinand and Manasses had been rival candidates for the see of Rheims. The dispute had been carried to Rome, where, thanks to no less a person than Archdeacon Hildebrand himself, it had been settled in favor of Manasses.¹⁴

Evidence that Helinand of Laon had aspired to become archbishop of Rheims is provided by Guibert of Nogent. In his account of this ambitious prelate's career Guibert notes that on one occasion he purchased the vacant see of Rheims from Philip I, who had been shamelessly exploiting it in his own interest for two years. He did not, however, become archbishop because the pope told him that "anyone having a wife [the see of Laon] could under no circumstances marry another [the see of Rheims]."¹⁵ Guibert unfortunately fails to indicate the time when this incident took place. Modern writers have assumed that it must have been *after* the expulsion of Manasses from Rheims in 1081.¹⁶ In the light of Manasses' own statement to Gregory it seems more probable that it occurred after the death of Gervais in 1067.

It may perhaps be asked whether Manasses' words are to be trusted. He was not noted for honesty. Yet in this instance he is above suspicion. He would hardly have ventured to lie to Gregory, who was fully cognizant of the facts. That they were substantially as represented here is proved by the pope's own words in a letter to Manasses of March 14, 1074. In reminding the archbishop of his obligations, Gregory remarks: "Especially did we so highly approve of your advancement that we cannot escape grave responsibility if you do anything that would bring dishonor upon your rank or would be unbecoming to your dignity."¹⁷ Thus it would appear that Manasses was the choice of the curia itself. At the time he was presumably regarded as sympathetic to the program of reform. Indeed his occupation of the key position in the French church may well have seemed a significant triumph for

Gregor VII. (dissertation, Greifswald, 1887), pp. 31-42, questions the authenticity of this letter. His arguments are far from convincing.

¹³ Sudendorf, I, 13.

¹⁴ I find fantastic the interpretation given to Manasses' words by Delarc, III, 353. For the interference of the papacy in contested episcopal elections in this period, see Fliche, *Ph. Ier*, pp. 402 ff.

¹⁵ *De vita sua*, lib. III, cap. II, p. 131.

¹⁶ *Rec. des hist.*, XIII, 685, n. e; Fliche, *Réf. grég.*, II, 253; Erich Caspar, "Das Register Gregors VII," *M.G.H., Epistolae Selectae*, II (Berlin, 1920-23), 543, n. 2.

¹⁷ Caspar, lib. I, no. 52, 78-79: "*presertim nos adeo tuę promotioni favimus et consensimus, ut nequeamus vitare grave periculum, si ea feceris quę tuum ordinem dehonestent aut tuam non deceant dignitatem.*"

the reformers. The charge of simony seems, then, largely to have been a part of the propaganda against him after he had failed to live up to expectations.¹⁸

Cordial relations between Rome and Rheims continued for some years after Manasses became archbishop. This is indicated by the surviving poems of Fulcoius of Beauvais. As has been noted, Manasses was a well-educated man. He seems to have had a genuine appreciation of Latin verse and was the friend and patron of poets. One of these was Fulcoius,¹⁹ who on occasion seems to have been employed as an intermediary between the archbishop and the curia. Thus we find one of his poems addressed to Pope Alexander II.²⁰ A second is directed to Alexander and Archdeacon Hildebrand.²¹ It is of especial interest. Fulcoius salutes Alexander as a new Cato; Hildebrand as a new Caesar. He announces that he brings them a gift, a poem composed at the suggestion of Manasses. The poem in question is Fulcoius' chef d'oeuvre, the *Uterque*, the Old and New Testaments done into verse.²² It is clear that Fulcoius was at Rome on business for his patron.²³

Yet even before Alexander II passed away in 1073 relations between the curia and the archbishop of Rheims were becoming strained. The cause of this was Manasses' delay in installing a successor to Abbot Herimar of St. Remi, who had died in 1071.²⁴ On June 30, 1073, the new pope, Gregory VII, wrote him a courteous but firm note of remonstrance. He censures him for disregarding the commands of Alexander in this matter. He must not divert the property of St. Remi to his own uses. He must not abuse the monks. He must see that a suitable successor to Herimar is installed at once and ac-

¹⁸ It may be noted that Karl-Joseph von Hefele was suspicious of the charge of simony against Manasses. See *Histoire des Conciles* (French translation of the German work by Henri Leclercq), V (Paris, 1912), 221, n. 3. It was gratifying to discover that Gaul had come to exactly the same conclusions that I had as to Manasses' elevation to the see of Rheims. See Gaul, pp. 123-37.

¹⁹ On the career of this little-known poet, see Omont, "Épithames métriques," *loc. cit.*, and André Boutemy and Fernand Vercauteren, "Fulcoie de Beauvais et l'intérêt pour l'archéologie antique au XI^e et au XII^e siècle," *Latomus*, I (1937), 173 ff.

²⁰ Beauvais MS. 11 (XII century), 140^v. for the description of this interesting MS. see *Catalogue générale des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, III, 317 ff. I examined the MS. while in France in 1939.

²¹ Bib. Nat., MS. Lat. 16701 (XII century), 4^v-5^r. Published by Jean Lebeuf, *Dissertations sur l'histoire ecclésiastique et civile de Paris*, II (Paris, 1741), 243-44.

²² The work is also called *De Nuptiis Christi et Ecclesiae*. It contains around 3,800 verses. It is found in three MSS.: Beauvais 11, 2^{ff}.; Bib. Nat., MS. Lat. 16701, 5^{ff}.; Bib. Nat., MS. Lat. 5305 (XII century), 67^{ff}.

²³ Bib. Nat., MS. Lat. 16701, 4^v:

*Hos vacua vidisse manu cum non sit honestum,
Romanis placuisse deis, quia carmina novi,
Carmina deporto, tantis optanda patronis
Temporibus docti pape dignique ministri,
Instinctu manase condigni carminis amanti.*

That Hildebrand had a taste for Latin poetry is indicated by Peter Damian, Migne, CXLV, 560C.

²⁴ *Gal. Chr.*, IX, 229.

cording to the rule. Failure to obey will lead to serious consequences.²⁵

Manasses deferred to the papal wishes. He had Walo, already abbot of St. Arnulph of Metz, installed as abbot of St. Remi.²⁶ A good man Walo was, but he soon found life at Rheims most uncomfortable. In considerable agitation he appealed to Gregory for permission to resign.²⁷ His appeal was not in vain. On March 14, 1074, Gregory again wrote Manasses. He commends him for selecting so excellent a man to fill the vacancy at St. Remi. He begs, however, that he place no obstacle in Walo's way should he decide to resign.²⁸ Once more Manasses deferred to Gregory.

The cause for Walo's unhappiness as abbot of St. Remi is revealed in two curious letters which he wrote to Manasses upon his resignation.²⁹ The first of these is dignified and restrained, though the writer's words are frequently tinged with irony. He denies that he has retained the staff of office, which the archbishop has ordered him to surrender. He deplores Manasses' use of menacing words and advises him to control his tongue.

The second letter is almost hysterical. Presumably Walo was now a safe distance from Rheims! He bitterly addresses Manasses as "oppressor of the church of Rheims." He dwells upon his patience with the archbishop and speaks of his vain prayers for his reform. Becoming more specific, he enumerates the indignities to which he has been subject. Manasses was always making threats. On the feast of St. Remi he publicly called him "a fool"! He attempted to lay hand on the money Walo had put aside for a trip to Rome. He surrounded him with his minions. He wrote derogatory letters about him. He told the pope that Walo was unsuited to the French, because he was "a peaceful, humble, quiet man, always intent on reading." This, notes Walo with satisfaction, caused both laughter and consternation in the curia.

The portrait of his tormentor is completed in a third letter which Walo wrote to an unidentified Abbot H.³⁰ After insisting on his altruistic intentions in accepting the post at St. Remi, its ex-abbot paints the following lurid picture of the archbishop of Rheims: "I beheld in him [a man with] stiff, erect neck, eyes full of rage glancing hither and yon, nostrils breathing contempt, discourse uneven and incoherent; [a man] restrained by no consequence and no reason, with vainglorious shoulders, unsteady feet, un-

²⁵ Caspar, lib. I, no. 13, 21-22. See also Gregory's letter of the same day to Hugh of Cluny, *ibid.*, no. 14, 22-23.

²⁶ On Walo see: *Hist. lit.*, VIII, 305 ff.; Manitius, *Gesch. d. lat. Lit. d. Mittelalters*, II (Munich, 1923), 724 f.; Julius Pflugk-Harttung, *Neues Archiv*, VII (1882), 222, n. 1. Gaul, p. 31, finds reason to believe that Walo had already become abbot of St. Remi before June 30, 1073.

²⁷ Jean Mabillon, *Vetera Analecta* (Paris, 1723), p. 455.

²⁸ Caspar, lib. I, no. 52, 79.

²⁹ Mabillon, pp. 455-57.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

even gait; [a man] disordered, unsightly, with violent hands ready for slaughter or injury to those nearest to him." When Walo marked these symptoms of a "poisoned mind," he bitterly regretted that he had ever come to Rheims. He assures Abbot H. that in future he will be "more foreseeing, more free of blame, more cautious."

Walo, there is reason to believe, was a highly emotional and temperamental individual.³¹ Nevertheless, his impressions of Manasses as a man of violent temper with a proclivity for laying hands on the property of an antagonist are borne out by many other sources. It will occasion no surprise, therefore, to find him at odds with the clergy of his cathedral. This feud was to lead to his ultimate undoing.

The genesis of the controversy is obscure. By 1076, however, the chapter had been split into two factions. One, bitterly hostile to the archbishop, was led by a relative of Count Ebalus of Roucy, Manasses of Châtillon, who had just attained the provostship, the highest office in the chapter.³² The provost was vigorously supported by the chancellor and schoolmaster, Bruno,³³ and a certain Pontius.³⁴ The other group, loyal to the archbishop, was led by Archdeacon Wido,³⁵ and included Godfrey, who succeeded Bruno both as chancellor and as schoolmaster.³⁶ To it we may add Fulcoius, though there is no evidence that he was a member of the chapter.

Whatever the cause, the feud was conducted with acrimony on both sides. Manasses appears to have treated the canons in the rough and ready way he had treated Walo. They, on their part, sought the support of Hugh of Die, the new papal legate, who tells us that Manasses of Châtillon and Bruno were among those present at the council which he convened at Clermont-Ferrand in August, 1076.³⁷ Presumably they filled the legate's ears

³¹ This is suggested by his later behavior. In 1085 he allowed the supporters of Henry IV to make him bishop of Metz in the place of Hermann, who had been driven from the city. Overcome with remorse, however, he made his peace with Hermann and did public penance. See the "Gesta Abbatum Trudonensium," *M.G.H., Scrip.* X, 240, and Hugh of Flavigny, *ibid.*, VIII, 471.

³² See *Gal. Chr.*, IX, 77 ff. In his letter to Gregory (Sudendorf, I, 13-14) Manasses accuses him of gross immorality. Hugh of Die reports that he became provost through simony, but surrendered his office to him at the Council of Clermont in 1076. Apparently he was reinstated. See Hugh's letter to Gregory, Migne, CXLVIII, 745.

³³ Bruno later founded the Carthusian Order. The most complete account of him is that of Hermann Löbbel, *Der Stifter des Carthäuser-Ordens, der heilige Bruno aus Köln (Kirchengeschichtliche Studien, V, Heft 1; Münster i. W., 1899)*.

³⁴ Manasses mentions him in his letter to Hugh of Die, *Rec. des hist.*, XIV, 783.

³⁵ Manasses was represented at the Council of Autun by "Archdeacon W." (Sudendorf, I, 14). The two archdeacons of Rheims at this time were Warinus and Wido. There is good reason to believe, however, that "Archdeacon W." was Wido, to whom Fulcoius addressed one of his poems, and whose epitaph was composed by Godfrey of Rheims, another protégé of Manasses. See below, n. 95.

³⁶ See my article, "Godfrey of Rheims, a Humanist of the Eleventh Century," *Speculum*, XXII (1947), 29 ff.

³⁷ Migne, CXLVIII, 745. Hugh may have known the provost before this, as he refers to him as "*amicum in Christo*." On the date, see Wiedemann, pp. 22-23, 73-77.

with their tribulations. These no doubt were duly transmitted to Gregory, whose patience with the archbishop of Rheims was already sorely tried.

On March 4, 1075, the pope had given vent to his rising irritation with Manasses because of his failure to depose Bishop Roger of Châlons, who had persistently disregarded papal instructions.³⁸ On the following day he had sent off a second letter, of routine character, instructing Manasses to investigate a controversy between the bishops of Noyon and Utrecht.³⁹

With this letter of March 5 the sequence of Gregory's correspondence with Manasses is broken by a gap lasting until August 27, 1078. Presumably the pope's own experience with the archbishop together with the complaints of the canons of Rheims were convincing Gregory that Manasses was utterly unreliable. He does not, however, appear to have contemplated drastic measures against him. His first move was to bring indirect pressure to bear on the recalcitrant. He accordingly sought to ignore the archbishop of Rheims. Tasks which needed doing in the province of Rheims were entrusted to others. This is illustrated by the remarkable letter he dispatched on March 25, 1077, to Godfrey, bishop of Paris.⁴⁰

Godfrey is instructed to review with Manasses the excommunication of a certain Walter of Douai by the latter. If he is convinced of the man's innocence, or of his sincere repentance, he shall order Manasses to raise the excommunication. If he refuses, the bishop of Paris shall raise it himself. Gregory further orders Godfrey to examine the case of two monks of St. Remi. These have complained that Manasses, despite their appeal to the pope, has excommunicated them and blinded a lay brother for refusing to live under a new abbot, chosen, they insist, by bribery and contrary to the rule.⁴¹ Godfrey shall admonish Manasses to raise this excommunication too. If he refuses, Godfrey shall again do it himself.

That Gregory had gone thus far indicates the degree of his irritation with Manasses. The subordination of an archbishop of Rheims to a mere bishop of Paris is an interesting illustration of his faith in the absolute character of the papal power. There is, however, nothing to indicate that he intended at this time to take further punitive action against Manasses. In a letter of May 12, 1077, he instructs Hugh of Die to summon the archbishop of Rheims and as many of the French clergy as possible to a council to be convened

³⁸ Caspar, lib. II, no. 56, 209-10.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, lib. II, no. 58, 211-12.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, lib. IV, no. 20, 326-29. Gaul believes that Gregory was more interested in making a good impression on the king by entrusting important missions to the bishop of Paris, than he was in humiliating the archbishop of Rheims (pp. 96 ff.).

⁴¹ The new abbot was Henry, already abbot of Homblières. Guibert of Nogent speaks very highly of him, *De vita sua*, lib. II, cap. 11, pp. 107-108. See also *Gal. Chr.*, IX, 230.

in the province of Rheims, if practical, and otherwise at Langres.⁴² The letter in no way implies that Manasses is to be summoned to stand trial. He is to be summoned as the superior of the bishop of Cambrai, the validity of whose election is to be examined by the council, and as a great French prelate.

The council in question met on September 10, 1077, at Autun, not at Langres.⁴³ Manasses and most of the French prelates failed to attend, thus providing Hugh of Die with a most serious charge against them. They had defied the authority of a papal legate! More pro-papal than the pope himself, Hugh was no man to flinch from drastic penalties.⁴⁴ As a consequence, sentences of utmost severity were imposed on the archbishops of Sens, Bourges, and Bordeaux. The archbishop of Rheims was excommunicated and suspended from his office.

It was at Autun, according to Hugh of Flavigny, that certain clerks of Rheims accused Manasses of simony. He adds that the latter sought to take revenge by laying an ambush for them on the road back to Rheims. This the clerks escaped, but the infuriated archbishop destroyed their houses, sold their prebends, and scattered their goods.⁴⁵

Manasses lost no time in protesting to Gregory against the sentence imposed upon him at Autun.⁴⁶ His letter opens with denunciations of his enemies, Hugh Rainard, bishop of Langres, Helinand, bishop of Laon, Count Ebalus of Roucy, and Manasses of Châtillon. The influence of these men over Hugh of Die was responsible for his condemnation. He reminds the pope that while he did not attend the council, he did not completely disregard it. He sent to Autun a delegation of his "best clerks" with Archdeacon W. (Wido) as spokesman. He appears to quote verbatim from the address which the archdeacon delivered to the assembly.

This is of very great interest. Wido insists that Manasses has stayed away from fear of his enemies. He points out that the archbishop is expecting a personal interview with Gregory himself.⁴⁷ Manasses cannot believe that his absence can embarrass the council, as two bishops and more from his province are in attendance. Moreover, declares Wido, Manasses has not been summoned to attend for any fault or crime he has committed. Nor has the

⁴² Caspar, lib. IV, no. 22, 330-34.

⁴³ On the Council of Autun, see Hefele, V, 220-26, and Wiedemann, pp. 24-35 and 73-74.

⁴⁴ On Hugh of Die, see, in addition to Mevs, (above, n. 12), Wilhelm Lühke, *Hugo von Die und Lyon, Legat von Gallien* (dissertation, Strassburg, 1898); Abbé Rony, "Hugues de Romans, Légat Pontifical," *Revue des questions historiques*, CVII (1927), 287-303, and "La politique française de Grégoire VII," CIX (1928), 5-34; Theodor Schieffer, *Die päpstlichen Legaten in Frankreich* (*Historische Studien*, No. 263, Berlin, 1935), pp. 88 ff.

⁴⁵ *M.G.H., Scrip.*, VIII, 415.

⁴⁶ Sudendorf, I, 13-16.

⁴⁷ After Canossa (Jan. 25-28, 1077) Gregory VII continued to talk of crossing the Alps: A. J. Macdonald, *Hildebrand* (London, 1932), pp. 185-90.

king ordered him to attend. Hence he begs the assembly to overlook his absence. "But if either the prayer of justice or the manifestation of the law, as we see it and feel it, cannot profit us and him, and if anyone motivated by prejudice, cupidity, or hatred desires to harm him, we appeal in his behalf to the Lord Pope, who placed him in the see of Rheims."⁴⁸

Despite this appeal, continues Manasses to Gregory, Hugh of Die, completely under the influence of the bishop of Langres, declared him excommunicated and suspended from office. He urges the pope to disavow this rash action of his legate, and cites precedents for so doing.⁴⁹ He insists on his loyalty to Gregory, and mentions as proof his refusal to consecrate Gerard, bishop of Cambrai, the appointee of Henry IV.⁵⁰ In conclusion he implores Gregory to summon him to Rome, and, in the meantime, to relieve him of an excommunication "unheard of in our time."

It was, no doubt, at this point that Fulcoius of Beauvais entered the lists on his patron's behalf. In a metrical letter addressed to Hugh of Die, he praises the legate's zeal but ventures to proffer him some sound advice. Hugh, he insists, is making a bad mistake in his treatment of Manasses.

With such hatreds you do not please Rome, I assure you.
You weaken the body from which you sever the arms.
Choose a strong partner, as the Commonwealth desires.
Unaccompanied virtue perishes under an elated mind;
Victory seldom yields to a single man, though he be skilled.
Any general about to take the field goes more securely,
When he sees strong cohorts around him,
And he entrusts the flank [to another], if there be one tried in arms,
And he does not envy and drive away him who excels.⁵¹

⁴⁸ Sudendorf, I, 14. Note especially Wido's words: "*qui eum in sede Remensi constituit.*"

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 15. He cites the repudiation of the acts of the bishop of Thessalonica by Leo the Great, and also the example of Pope Hilarus. As in a later letter he will make extensive use of the *False Decretals*, they were probably his source here. Cf. Paul Hinschius, *Decretales pseudo-Isidorianae et Capitula Angilramni* (Leipzig, 1863), pp. 618-20, 630. He also cites the repudiation of the acts of Rotoaldus and Zacharias by Nicholas I. See the letters of Nicholas, Migne, CXIX, 850 ff.

⁵⁰ On the case of Gerard of Cambrai, see Gregory's letter to Hugh of Die, Caspar, lib. IV, no. 22, 330-34.

⁵¹ The poem is found in Beauvais MS. II, 133^v-135^r. The verses quoted are 36-44 (134^r-134^v):

*His odiis romam non diligis, ut tibi promam.
Corporis emollis robur, cui brachia tollis.
Elige consortem quod vult respublica fortem.
Mente sub elata virtus perit incommutata;
Soli, vel gnaro, cedit victoria raro.
Ita mage securus dux omnis congregiturus,
Si secum fortes circumspicit ire cohortes,
Commendatque latus, si quis sit ad arma probatus,
Et qui precellit non invidet atque repellit.*

Fulcoius continues in similar vein, citing illustrations from the Old Testament. Piety is all very well, but it must not ignore justice. He concludes with apologies for preaching to a man of Hugh's wisdom.

Fulcoius likewise sent verses to Gregory himself.⁵² In these he ventures to predict that Rome will never have another bishop equal to Gregory. Nor will Rheims ever see the peer of Manasses! Those who disparage the latter are deceived and are deceiving others. Fulcoius is not deceived, nor is he deceiving Rome in assuring her that Manasses can be a friend and not a foe. He begs the pope to loose, to prove that he can also bind, an allusion, no doubt, to the excommunication of Manasses. Obviously Fulcoius was doing all that lay within a poet's power to restore his patron to grace.

Others were equally inclined to be critical of the work of the Council of Autun. Thus, certain clerks of Noyon, in a letter to the clergy of Cambrai, expressed the opinion that Manasses' excommunication had been pronounced "rather through hatred than through justice."⁵³ Finally, Gregory himself seems to have entertained serious misgivings as to the course his legate had chosen. As a result, at the Lenten synod of 1078 (February 25 to March 3), he reversed at Rome nearly all that Hugh had done at Autun. The archbishops of Rheims, Sens, and Bourges, and the bishop of Chartres were restored to their sees.⁵⁴

We know that Manasses himself journeyed to Rome to attend this synod.⁵⁵ He claims to have waited there eleven weeks for the arrival of Hugh of Die, but the legate never put in an appearance.⁵⁶ Count Ebalus of Roucy and Pontius were in Rome, however, and it was probably they who presented the charges against Manasses.⁵⁷ Judging from the results of the proceedings, the archbishop had the better of his accusers. The pope withdrew the excommunication and restored him to office. Yet this was done only after Manasses had taken the following solemn oath over the body of St. Peter:

I, Manasses, archbishop of Rheims, did not out of pride fail to attend the synods

⁵² Beauvais MS. 11, 133^r-133^v. Two verses (29-30) were published by Jean Mabillon, *Museum Italicum*, I, 2 (Paris, 1724), 118. The important verses are 39-41 (133^v):

*Papa, liga, sed solve pius pede firmus utroque,
Utque ligare potes, monstra quod solvere possis.
Qui tibi levitę scribsi, scribo tibi pape.*

⁵³ *Rec. des hist.*, XIV, 781.

⁵⁴ On this synod see Hefele, V, 232 ff. Hugh of Flavigny claims that Hugh of Die summoned Manasses to attend the Council of Poitiers, Jan. 15, 1078, *M.G.H., Scrip.*, VIII, 422. In the light of his excommunication at Autun and his appeal to Rome this seems highly improbable.

⁵⁵ Caspar, lib. V, no. 17, 378-80, and Manasses' letter to Gregory, *M.G.H., Scrip.*, VIII, 419-20, and to Hugh of Die, *Rec. des hist.*, XIV, 781 ff.

⁵⁶ Manasses to Hugh of Die, *Rec. des hist.*, XIV, 782. On Hugh's failure to attend the synod, see Lühe, p. 58, n. 3, and Rony, "Politique française de Grégoire VII," *loc. cit.*, 14-22.

⁵⁷ The presence of Ebalus is proved by Manasses' letter to Gregory, *M.G.H., Scrip.*, VIII, 420; of Pontius, by his letter to Hugh of Die, *Rec. des Hist.*, XIV, 783.

[synod?] of Autun to which the bishop of Die summoned me. If called by a messenger or letters of the apostolic see, through no wicked device nor fraud shall I absent myself, but coming, I shall faithfully obey the decision and judgment of this church. But if it pleases the Lord Pope Gregory, or his successor, that I answer to charges before his legate, I shall do so in all things. Moreover I shall faithfully administer the treasures, ornaments, and estates of the church of Rheims committed to me for the honor of that church, and I shall not alienate them for the resisting of justice.⁵⁸

This oath apparently disposed of the more serious charges against Manasses. Gregory states, however, that he has been accused "in many things." In his letters of the spring and summer of 1078 it is assumed that it had been agreed at Rome that the archbishop should clear himself of these at a later council.⁵⁹ The exact nature of these remaining charges is not indicated, but presumably they had to do with Manasses' cavalier treatment of the persons and goods of the provost and Bruno.

Gregory was anxious to have Manasses appear before a new council as soon as possible. His oath must be put to the test! The archbishop was just as anxious to avoid this. In the summer of 1078 he wrote Gregory an astonishing letter.⁶⁰ He begins by posing as the faithful servant of the pope, recounting the details of various missions he has performed at Gregory's request. He then complains of the doings of the archbishop of Vienne, of the bishops of Laon and Soissons, of Ebalus of Roucy, of the provost Manasses, and of Hugh of Die. The real point of the letter is, however, a request that Gregory confirm the privileges of the archbishops of Rheims, especially the privilege by which Gregory at Rome had made Manasses responsible to the supreme pontiff alone and to "*Roman legates*, not to ultramontanes, who, associated with the Roman, seek only their own advantage."

This astonishing interpretation of the meaning of *Roman legates* must have annoyed Gregory. Nevertheless his reply of August 22, 1078, was friendly though firm.⁶¹ He allows that he did indeed make Manasses responsible only to himself or to a Roman legate. Manasses must understand, however, that such a legate is not necessarily a person associated in some way with the city of Rome itself. He may be anyone, of any nationality, to whom the Roman pontiff entrusts a mission or to whom he delegates the power of acting for himself. Gregory illustrates from the history of the church. He reminds Manasses that it was agreed at Rome that he should clear himself of all charges before Hugh of Die and Hugh of Cluny. He

⁵⁸ Gregory's letter of Mar. 9, 1078, Caspar, lib. V, no. 17, 379.

⁵⁹ To Hubert and Teuzo, *ibid.*, lib. V, no. 22, 386; to Manasses, *ibid.*, lib. VI, no. 2, 391-94.

⁶⁰ Given by Hugh of Flavigny, *M.G.H., Scrip.*, VIII, 419-20. As to date, see Wiedemann, p. 43, n. 3.

⁶¹ Caspar, lib. VI, no. 2, 391-94.

promises that his legates will investigate Manasses' complaints. This he instructed the two Hughs to do that very day.⁶² His letter to the legates shows that Gregory, despite his conciliatory tone in addressing Manasses, was thoroughly suspicious of his intentions. "He is seeking delay as a means of escape," he confides to the two Hughs.

If indeed delay was his objective, Manasses was reasonably successful in attaining it. The above letters were dispatched on August 22, 1078. Not until early in 1080 was Hugh of Die able to convene the council to consider the charges against Manasses. In the meantime there was a good deal of sparring on both sides.

We may first note a move by the archbishop. In the middle of April, 1079, he himself presided over a provincial council at Soissons.⁶³ Its decrees are of considerable interest. They deal especially with infractions of the Truce of God, but they also confirm the papal prohibitions of clerical marriage and the holding of churches by laymen. In addition they denounce usury, deny the secular power the right to tax the clergy, and forbid clerks to bear arms.

The striking feature of these decrees is their decidedly reformist complexion. One wonders what motives led Manasses to convene the council which promulgated them. Was he trying to placate Gregory by furthering reform in his province? Did he hope to convince him that reform could progress more effectively under the aegis of the hierarchy than under that of the papal legates? Was the council, convened without the blessing of a papal legate, intended to be an assertion of independence or an act of defiance? Unfortunately it is impossible to answer these questions.

At any rate, the Council of Soissons appears to have made no impression on Gregory. On April 20, 1079, he made the archbishop of Lyons primate over the provinces of Lyons, Sens, Rouen, and Tours.⁶⁴ This was primarily an affront to King Philip and to Richer, archbishop of Sens, but it must have increased the apprehensions of Manasses. Yet the following summer was to provide him occasion for momentary elation.

The papal legates were hard at work on plans for a new council. At first they selected Troyes as a satisfactory site for the gathering. Further consid-

⁶² *Ibid.*, lib. VI, no. 3, 394-96.

⁶³ Reference to this council is made in the confirmation of a royal charter of January, 1079 (Prou, No. XCIV). The acts of the council, discovered in a MS. of the Bib. Nat., were published by Léopold Delisle in his *Littérature latine et histoire du moyen âge (Instructions adressées par le Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques aux correspondants du Ministère de l'Instruction publique et des beaux arts, Paris, 1890)*, pp. 23-25. Manasses had presided over an earlier council at Rheims in 1074. See the charter printed in *Gal. Chr.*, X, 156-57. Nothing is known of the deliberations of this council.

⁶⁴ Caspar, lib. VI, nos. 34 and 35. The significance of the move is made clear by Fliche, *Ph. I*, pp. 347 ff., and "La Primatie des Gaules," *Revue historique*, CLXXIII (1934), 337 ff.

eration changed their minds, however, and they canceled the summonses which had been sent out. Manasses was, no doubt, aware of the change in plan. Despite this fact he and his clergy journeyed to Troyes at the scheduled time.⁶⁵ Thus he was able to boast that he had scrupulously observed the terms of the oath he had sworn at Rome.

These futile maneuvers could not continue indefinitely. Hugh of Die at last fixed on Lyons as the place and late January or early February, 1080, as the time for the long delayed gathering.⁶⁶ The legate sent Manasses two official summonses.⁶⁷ The second, containing supplementary instructions received from the pope, was dispatched three weeks after the first.⁶⁸ Neither has been preserved, but the contents are made clear by Manasses' detailed reply to Hugh. This is a wordy, repetitious document, but one of great interest.⁶⁹

The archbishop admits that he promised the pope to heed a summons to attend a council *in Gaul*, provided, of course, that he did not have a canonical excuse for absenting himself.⁷⁰ In conformity with this promise he and his clergy had traveled to Troyes in the previous summer. As for a council at Lyons, there are numerous canonical excuses to justify him in not attending. In the first place, the summons does not include the name of Hugh of Cluny. Manasses lays great stress on this point. At Rome, he insists, the pope had agreed that he should be under the authority of the abbot of Cluny, not under that of Hugh of Die. Secondly, the council is not to be held in Gaul but in imperial territory.⁷¹ Thirdly, the state of war which prevails in the vicinity of Lyons makes it extremely hazardous for a French prelate to approach that city. Fourthly, the council is to be held in the same ecclesiastical province and to be directed by the same people as was the Council of Autun. Rome itself has recognized that Manasses was unjustly treated there! Finally, Lyons is a journey of fifteen days from Rheims, a circumstance which will make it difficult to obtain witnesses.

⁶⁵ Manasses tells us about this in his letter to Hugh of Die, *Rec. des hist.*, XIV, 782. He does not pretend ignorance of the change of plan. He merely says that the oath taken at Rome included nothing about countermanding, and that he had never received Hugh's letter canceling the council. Lühe puts the date of the projected council at the end of August or beginning of September (p. 149).

⁶⁶ The exact dates of the Council of Lyons are unknown. Wiedemann, pp. 87-88, argues for early January, but Lühe, p. 147, proves that it could not possibly have met before the latter part of the month.

⁶⁷ Manasses to Hugh of Die, *Rec. des hist.*, XIV, 783. Wiedemann, pp. 87-88, concludes that Manasses' letter to Hugh was written late in November. Lühe, p. 148, proves, however, that it could not have been written until after Christmas, 1079.

⁶⁸ Gregory's instructions to Hugh are not found in the register, but they are given by Hugh of Flavigny, *M.G.H., Scrip.*, VIII, 421.

⁶⁹ *Rec. des hist.*, XIV, 781 ff.

⁷⁰ These limitations do not appear in Manasses' oath as given by Gregory.

⁷¹ Manasses argues that "Gaul" can only mean the kingdom of France, *Rec. des hist.*, XIV, 784-85.

This is not all. Manasses has received from Hugh two quite different sets of instructions. In the first he was told he was to face the charges of the provost Manasses and his confederates. As a matter of fact, he has made peace with these, with the exception of Bruno and Pontius. The former is a foreigner, a German. The latter has been discredited by the lies in which he was caught at Rome. Manasses feels neither moral nor legal obligation to answer their charges.

Hugh's second instructions were entirely different. They ordered him in default of accusers, to be prepared to clear himself by the oaths of six bishops of unassailable repute. Why should he need to clear himself at all, if there are no accusers? As for the six bishops, how can he assemble them in the twenty days allowed him? And as for unassailable reputations, Sts. Remi, Martin, Julian, Germannus, Hilary, and Denis will have to rise from their graves, if he is to meet that specification!

In concluding, Manasses makes a proposal of his own. Let Hugh hold his council at Rheims, Soissons, Compiègne, or Senlis! He promises the legate a cordial reception and every consideration. The advantage of the church lies in conciliating France, not in antagonizing her. If Hugh disregards this proposal, Manasses assures him that he will disregard any action taken at Lyons.

Most historians have dismissed this letter as a piece of sheer casuistry. In the light of Manasses' oath as reported by Gregory they are, perhaps, justified in so doing. Yet there are certain points worthy of note. In the first place the correspondence of the controversy does indeed suggest that the oath had been qualified by certain antecedent verbal understandings. Thus Manasses insists that it had been agreed that he was to be under the legatine authority of Hugh of Cluny but not under that of Hugh of Die. Gregory nowhere admits that this is true, yet his letters do betray a certain uneasiness of conscience on this point.⁷² In the second place, certain of Manasses' legal arguments are not without cogency. Particularly interesting is their extensive documentation. He cites from the Old Testament,⁷³ the Fathers of the Church,⁷⁴ the *False Decretals*,⁷⁵ and even from the Code of Justinian.⁷⁶

⁷² Gregory seems at least to have assured Manasses that Hugh of Cluny would act together with Hugh of Die. See his letter to Hubert and Teuzo (May 22, 1078, Caspar, lib. V, no. 22, 386); to Manasses (Aug. 22, 1078, *ibid.*, lib. VI, no. 2, 393). Note also that Gregory "hopes" the abbot of Cluny will be at Lyons (to Manasses, Jan. 3, 1080, *ibid.*, lib. VII, no. 12, 476). Also his last letter to Manasses, Apr. 17, 1080 (*ibid.*, lib. VII, no. 20, 496). Because of strained relations, Gregory could not count on the co-operation of Hugh of Cluny during this period. See Lucy Smith, *Cluny in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (London, 1930), pp. 74 ff.

⁷³ For example, *Rec. des hist.*, XIV, 786; "Ezekiel," XIII, 19.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Gregory, "Homilia," XXVI, Migne, LXXVI, 1200; Augustine, *Sermo LXXXII*, "De verbis Evangelii Matthaei," cap. XVIII, Migne, XXXVIII, 509; Leo the Great, "Sermo de anniversario suo," Migne, LIV, 151.

⁷⁵ *Rec. des hist.*, XIV, 784. For example, he cites a letter of Pope Evaristus (*cf.* Hinschius,

Perhaps his logic is not always impeccable, but his familiarity with canon and civil law is impressive. Finally, it must be admitted that Manasses was undoubtedly correct in feeling his case prejudged. Lyons had been chosen for the convenience and security of his enemies, and from them he could expect little mercy.

Some weeks before Manasses had written to Hugh of Die he had written to Gregory. The letter is no longer extant, but we have the pope's reply of January 3, 1080.⁷⁷ Gregory expresses astonishment that Manasses should go to such lengths to remain under a bad reputation. He reminds him that he is under legatine authority. He must not despise that authority. He must, therefore, go to Lyons. He will be perfectly safe and will receive every consideration. Gregory hopes that the bishop of Albano and Hugh of Cluny will be there. In any case, Manasses must attend. If he refuses, the pope will confirm any sentence the council may pronounce.

The papal admonitions fell on deaf ears. Manasses did not go to Lyons, where the sessions of the council began late in January or early in February.⁷⁸ Whether his accusers were present we are not told. Hugh of Flavigny relates that Manasses made an attempt to bribe Hugh of Die to allow him to clear himself by the oath of six bishops, or, better still, by his own unsupported oath.⁷⁹ It is impossible to disprove this charge, but in the light of the antecedent correspondence the details of the story sound fantastic.

The Council of Lyons declared Manasses deposed.⁸⁰ Ostensibly the Gregorian papacy had scored an impressive triumph over a formidable antagonist. Actually the triumph would have been more substantial, had the formidable antagonist been induced to humiliate himself before the legatine authority at Lyons. Gregory VII was by no means unaware of the hollow character of the victory achieved.

On April 17, 1080, the pope announced to Manasses that the sentence pronounced at Lyons had been confirmed by a synod at Rome.⁸¹ Nevertheless, "contrary to the custom of the Roman Church," Gregory, moved by pity, will give him one more chance. He may have until the feast of St. Michael (September 29) to clear himself by the oath of six bishops under

p. 92), and one of Pope Euticianus (*ibid.*, p. 212). Particularly striking are Manasses' words: "*Quid? quod Judam Dominus furem esse sciebat, et quia non est accusatus, ideo non est ejectus, sed permansit in apostalatu.*" This is taken verbatim from a decretal of Eleutherius (*ibid.*, p. 126).

⁷⁶ *Rec. des hist.*, XIV, 782. For this passage see Paul Krueger, *Corpus Juris Civilis* (Berlin, 1906), II, *Code*, lib. II, III, 13.

⁷⁷ Caspar, lib. VII, no. 12, 475-77. Lûhe, p. 148, shows conclusively that Manasses' letter to Gregory must have been written some time before that to Hugh of Die.

⁷⁸ See note 66, above.

⁷⁹ *M.G.H., Scrip.*, VIII, 421-22.

⁸⁰ Caspar, lib. VII, no. 20, 496.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 495-96.

the following conditions. Having restored all he has taken from the Provost Manasses, Bruno, and his other accusers, and having permitted them to return to Rheims, he must go either to Cluny or to La Chaise-Dieu. He may take with him one clerk and two laymen. Because of the difficulties of a trip to Rome, the oath of purgation may be taken in the presence of Hugh of Die and Hugh of Cluny, or in the absence of the latter, Amatus of Oleron.

If Manasses is willing to accept these conditions, he is to notify Hugh of Die and swear to him that he will take nothing from the church of Rheims except what may be necessary for himself and his attendants at Cluny or La Chaise-Dieu. If he refuses this offer, the sentence of Lyons will stand, nor will Gregory ever grant him audience. Clearly the pope was making exceptional efforts in behalf of the legatine authority.

They were, however, in vain. There is no indication that Manasses paid the slightest heed to this final concession. As 1080 drew to a close it was obvious that the sentence of Lyons would have to be enforced. On December 27 Gregory at last dispatched similar letters to the clergy and people of Rheims, to Count Ebalus of Roucy, to the suffragans of Rheims, and to King Philip.⁸² All are forbidden to obey Manasses longer, or to associate with him. They are enjoined to co-operate in the speedy and canonical election of a new metropolitan.

It is a tribute to the power of the Gregorian papacy that these instructions were, in the main, executed. Guibert of Nogent informs us that the people of Rheims drove Manasses from their city and that he fled to the court of Emperor Henry IV.⁸³ Certain it is that he was in Henry's camp before Rome on May 23, 1081.⁸⁴ After this he disappears from view.⁸⁵

It is frequently claimed that Manasses went on pilgrimage to the Holy Land and was among certain prisoners delivered from the Saracens in 1099.⁸⁶ This is highly improbable. Guibert of Nogent fails to mention such a pilgrimage. According to him, after joining Henry IV, Manasses "wandered here and there until he died without the last communion of the Church."⁸⁷

⁸² *Ibid.*, lib. VIII, nos. 17, 18, 19, and 20, 538-43.

⁸³ *De vita sua*, lib. I, cap. XI, pp. 31-32.

⁸⁴ "Benzonis Episcopi Albensis ad Heinricum IV Imperatorem Libri VII," *M.G.H., Scrip.*, XI, 657.

⁸⁵ Manasses confirmed a charter at Braux, on the Meuse, on September 26, "*anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo octogesimo primo, indictione tercia*." See Gustave Saige and Henri Lacaille, *Trésor des chartes du comté de Rethel* (Monaco, 1902), I, 2. If 1081 is correct, our knowledge of Manasses' movements is extended by a few months. It is probable, however, that 1081 is a mistake for 1080. The year of the indiction is correct for the latter date, but wrong for the former. Moreover it is improbable that Manasses' confirmation would have been sought after he had been driven from Rheims.

⁸⁶ See for example, *Hist. lit.*, VIII, 255-56; Wiedemann, p. 65. The source is "*Tudebodus Imitatus et Continuatus*," *Recueil des historiens des croisades, Hist. oc.*, III, 213. This simply says that an archbishop of Rheims was among the liberated.

⁸⁷ *De vita sua*, lib. I, cap. XI, p. 32.

It may be noted further that Baudri of Bourgueil, writing in the 1080's to the poet, Godfrey of Rheims, distinctly implies that Manasses is dead.⁸⁸ It seems probable, therefore, that he did not survive his expulsion from Rheims by many years.

Manasses has been unfortunate in that writers sympathetic to the Gregorian reform have had the most to say about him. Walo of St. Arnulph, Hugh of Flavigny, Guibert of Nogent, Hugh of Die, and the disillusioned Gregory VII have provided the components of the conventional portrait of him. Undoubtedly Guibert's characterization has been most frequently cited. He was, says Guibert, "indeed a man of noble birth, but having absolutely none of the composure which first of all becomes good birth, for he had conceived so great arrogance from his new position, that he seemed to imitate the royal majesties of foreign peoples. . . . He, then, since he imitated especially the warriors and neglected the clergy is once said to have remarked: 'The Archbishopric of Rheims would be good, were it not for the need of saying mass for it.'"⁸⁹

There is every reason to believe that Manasses was indeed turbulent and arrogant, both in word and in deed. His manners were those of the war-like feudal aristocracy into which he was born.⁹⁰ That he was also avaricious and unscrupulously rapacious there can be no doubt. Walo, the provost Manasses, Bruno, and the church of Rheims were the victims of his greed. Little can be said in his defense here, except that such vices were characteristic of the society of the eleventh century. Manasses must be judged by the standards of his day. He is to be compared or contrasted with such contemporaries as Renier, bishop of Orleans, or Lambert, bishop of Théroutanne.⁹¹ Even the greatest of medieval rulers were capable of similar ferocity and rapacity.

There is fragmentary evidence, never before mustered in his behalf, that there was a less forbidding side to this archbishop of Rheims. He was not always "that singular wild beast" which terrified Walo.⁹² On occasion he must have been a man of considerable personal charm. Thus he apparently made an excellent impression on Archdeacon Hildebrand and Pope Alexander II. Nor does the impression on the former appear to have been entirely obliterated by the controversies of the late 1070's. In his final letter to Manasses Gregory's

⁸⁸ Phyllis Abrahams, ed., *Les oeuvres poétiques de Baudri de Bourgueil* (Paris, 1926), no. CLXI, verses 109-10. On the date of the poem see my article, "Godfrey of Rheims," *loc. cit.*, p. 29, n. 3.

⁸⁹ *De vita sua*, lib. I, cap. xi, pp. 30-31.

⁹⁰ It is hard to agree, however, with Professor Prosper Boissonade, who sees in Manasses the historical prototype of Archbishop Turpin in the *Chanson de Roland*. See *Du nouveau sur la Chanson de Roland* (Paris, 1923), pp. 326-27. Nothing in all the material examined above suggests that Manasses took the field in the manner of an Odo of Bayeux.

⁹¹ See Fliche, *Réf. Grég.*, II, 245 ff., and 255 ff.

⁹² Mabillon, *Vet. an.*, p. 455.

concluding threat is never to grant him another audience.⁹³ One senses an uneasy feeling on the part of the pope that he cannot entirely trust his own resolution in a personal interview with his antagonist.

It is, moreover, a mistake to assume that all good and upright men were enemies of Manasses. The saintly Thierry, abbot of St. Hubert in the Ardennes, was his friend and received many tokens of his esteem.⁹⁴ Archdeacon Wido, who defended him at Autun, was a man of blameless character and ended his life as a monk in Apulia, if we are to trust the poets.⁹⁵ These especially held Manasses in high esteem. Baudri of Bourgueil speaks of him with respect,⁹⁶ and Godfrey of Rheims composed many poems in his praise.⁹⁷ All of these, unfortunately, have disappeared. As already noted, however, a great deal of the verse of Fulcoius of Beauvais has survived.

In this we find nothing but praise for Manasses.⁹⁸ Nor can it be charged that Fulcoius was an irreligious man who was completely under the influence of the pagan authors. Despite his admiration for the ancients, he remained a pious Christian. This is illustrated by his *Uterque*, a metrical version of the Old and New Testaments, by his numerous lives of local saints, and by his preoccupation with the idea of becoming a monk.⁹⁹ It is to be remarked too, that his devotion to his patron was sincere. It was not merely a matter of a fat pension. When Manasses went into exile, Fulcoius accompanied him.¹⁰⁰ Obviously certain of the archbishop's contemporaries saw in him virtues not revealed to Walo or Hugh of Die.

⁹³ Caspar, lib. VII, no. 20, 496.

⁹⁴ "Life of St. Thierry," *M.G.H., Scrip.*, XII, 49; "Chronicle of St. Hubert," *ibid.*, VIII, 575-76, 590.

⁹⁵ Fulcoius directs a poem of praise to Wido in Beauvais MS. II, 151^v. Godfrey of Rheims composed his epitaph, published by Wilhelm Wattenbach, "Lateinische Gedichte aus Frankreich," *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (1891), I, 111-12.

⁹⁶ Abrahams, no. CLXI, verses 105-10.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ Some of the praise is too extravagant for modern taste. For example, these verses from the dedicatory part of the *Uterque* in Bib. Nat. MS. Lat. 16701, 4^r:

*Pectus, Lingua, Manus, Gressum moneo parare,
Donec diva caro, Manases, hoc extat in orbe.
Vita viris brevis est. Quia vivit strenuus, ibit
Ocius, in mundo per secula non reparandus.
Solus homo, solus princeps, migrabis ab orbe,
Optime vir Manases, sed non migrabis ab ore!
Tempora nostra vident non visum tempore longo,
Dignum vate virum, condignum principe vatem.
Romam cesaribus nostris fortuna diebus
Quod si privavit? Te, nos meliore beavit.
Remis, Roma, pares; Manases, Gregorius idem.*

⁹⁹ A. Wilmart, "Deux Lettres concernant Raoul le Verd, l'Ami de Saint Bruno," *Revue bénédictine*, LI (1939), 264.

¹⁰⁰ This is indicated by his poem addressed to Emperor Henry IV, published in *Rec. des hist.*, XI, 195, n. b.

It may be added that remiss as Manasses may have been in his other pastoral duties, he did not neglect the school of his cathedral. This had already attained a considerable reputation under his predecessor, Gervais. Under Manasses it occupied a position somewhat similar to that it had held in the days of Gerbert. It is true that, after 1075, the archbishop was the enemy of its most distinguished master, Bruno. On the other hand, it was he who gave the headship of the school to another celebrated master, Godfrey of Rheims.¹⁰¹ Thus whatever be thought of Manasses' role in the political and ecclesiastical affairs of his day, his position in the cultural history of the eleventh century is a highly respectable one.

In concluding we may well ask what, specifically, were the fundamental issues in this contest between the revitalized papacy and the archbishop of Rheims? It is customary to describe Manasses as "the enemy of reform." In the light of what has been said, it is obvious that the description requires qualification. Two of the prime objectives of the reformers, the enforcement of clerical celibacy and the abolition of lay investiture, do not figure at all in the struggle with the archbishop of Rheims. Nor does simony prove to be the important issue that Guibert of Nogent and Hugh of Flavigny make it to appear.

On the other hand, the reformers naturally wished to see ecclesiastical offices honestly and justly administered. Here they had a genuine grievance against Manasses. Much more important, however, was the question of the legatine authority. This was the truly vital issue. There could be no centralized papal monarchy as long as great ecclesiastics, like Manasses, could defy with impunity the instructions of the legates. The archbishop of Rheims was made an example to terrify any who might seek to follow in his footsteps.

Politically speaking, Manasses' defects lay in the realm of vision and leadership. His outlook was too narrowly provincial and selfish. Questions of broad principle or general policy found little place in his thinking. Even his opposition to the legatine authority does not appear to have been based on any principle. In his oath to Gregory and on other occasions he was willing enough to accept the principle. It was only its application to himself that he resisted. As a result he had to fight alone. Neither King Philip nor the feudal aristocracy gave him any substantial support.¹⁰² He never seems to have

¹⁰¹ See Abrahams, no. CLXI, verses 91 ff., and my article, "Godfrey of Rheims," *loc. cit.*, pp. 29-30.

¹⁰² Manasses' relations with Philip are very obscure. As Helinand of Laon was the king's candidate for the see of Rheims (*De vita sua*, lib. III, cap. 11, p. 131), Manasses' success in becoming archbishop could hardly have pleased him. There is, however, no evidence of strained relations between them. Manasses was frequently with the king. See Prou, nos. XXXIX, XLIII,

considered the possibility of organizing the French clergy, or even the clergy of his own province, to resist the papal pretensions. He went down to defeat with neck unbowed, but this did not alter the fact that the Gregorians had scored a relatively easy victory in the ecclesiastical citadel of the Capetian monarchy.

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XLVIII, XLIX, LX, LXI, LXII, LXXVIII, LXXX, LXXXII, LXXXVI, XCI, XCIV. In his letters Manasses mentions the king twice only. In his first letter to Gregory, he reports Archdeacon W. as saying: "*nec magistratus suus, cui post deum subditus est, in manu vestra eum esse praecepit*" (Sudendorf, I, 14). In his letter to Hugh of Die, he invites the legate, in the king's name as well as in his own, to convene a council at Rheims, Soissons, Compiègne, or Senlis (*Rec. des hist.*, XIV, 786), Benzo (*M.G.H., Scrip.*, XI, 657) describes Manasses in 1081 as "*Phylippi regis Franciae venerabilis legatus*." This may indicate that Philip had paid less attention to Gregory's letter of December 27, 1080, than is usually assumed.

Economic and Social Factors in the Prussian Rhineland in 1848

OSCAR J. HAMMEN

ECONOMIC and social factors helped to precipitate and to determine the course of the German Revolution of 1848. Yet, aside from a number of special studies by German historians, the standard accounts of the Revolution of 1848 place an almost exclusive emphasis upon the political aspects of the movement and upon the constitutional and national strivings of the liberal middle class. Generally ignored are the economic and social considerations which made the masses ripe for revolution. The "common man," in the final analysis, provided the revolutionary impulses and did the street fighting.

This article will consider merely a fragment of the problem, in that attention will be concentrated on Prussia, with specific stress on the Rhineland. It will be evident that economic and social factors may have provided the preponderant force which thrust a Prussia, reputed for good government, tranquillity, and order, into the maelstrom of revolution. An emphasis on the Rhineland is pertinent, since Rhineland liberal politicians and the Rhenish platform of reforms dominated the early course of the Revolution of 1848 in Prussia.

The status of the Rhineland deserves brief consideration. Assigned to Prussia in 1815, the Rhineland originally showed a coolness toward Prussian hegemony. Thereafter, an oppositionist tendency, stemming from religious differences, contrasting legal codes, and the generally more advanced political character of the Rhenish populace, continued to prevail into 1848. Economic prosperity and the over-all incorruptibility and good will of Prussian officialdom, however, had been effective in winning the steadfast loyalty of some Rhinelanders and the passive acquiescence of most others in Prussian rule.

Furthermore, it must be noted that, almost up to 1848, Prussia seems to have enjoyed the position of being the land of opportunity in the German world. Immigration from neighboring German states into Prussia until 1847 always greatly exceeded the numbers which Prussia lost through emigration to the New World or to other destinations.¹ Contemporary observers frequently commented on the relative prosperity of the Rhineland and on

¹ Paul Mombert, *Studien zur Bevölkerungsbewegung in Deutschland* (Karlsruhe, 1907), pp. 107-108.

the economic expansion and population growth in this region in contrast to nearby German states.²

When attempting to estimate what the Prussians expected from their state, the paternalistic character and reputation of Prussia also must be noted. The Prussian subject apparently expected the state to exercise a greater vigilance over his welfare than was ordinarily common in that age. It was not surprising, then, that a general impression existed that the Prussian state should provide work and relief in times of stress and unemployment.³ After 1845, when excessive economic hardship threatened the existence of a considerable portion of the population in Prussia, the feeling was that the government should take steps to alleviate the situation. When Prussia failed to take timely action, the general conviction was that the state had failed in its functions.⁴ Then, the masses in Prussia were ready for revolution. In the words of Franz Schnabel, "Only in the 1840's did the masses come to life, primarily, indeed, out of social needs. For the first time the common man again entered German history, from which he had taken his exit in the Peasant Wars."⁵

Germany after 1840 passed through that early phase of the industrial revolution where the lot of the worker was unconsidered and unprotected. The Prussian Rhineland experienced the advanced stage of this development. Machine production and the factory were replacing the independent artisan and worker.⁶ Under Prussia's liberal trade policies, as exercised through the *Zollverein*, the German worker found no protective trade barriers to shield manufacturers and workers against the competition of the more advanced industrial techniques of England and Belgium. An able English observer in

² See Niebuhr to Hensler, Oct. 29, 1823; Apr. 26, 1827; July 1, 1827, in F. Perthes, ed., *Lebensnachrichten über Barthold Georg Niebuhr aus Briefen desselben und aus Erinnerungen einiger seiner nächsten Freunde* (Hamburg, 1838-39), III, 58, 183, 191; R. A. Varnhagen von Ense, *Tagebücher von K. A. Varnhagen von Ense* (Leipzig, 1861-62), Aug. 1, 1846, III, 420-21; M. Dys, "Les Rhenans et la Prusse," *Revue des études napoléoniennes*, XXXIV (1932), 243-44.

³ Hans Mähl, *Die Überleitung Preussens in das konstitutionelle System durch den zweiten Vereinigten Landtag* (Munich, 1909), p. 254; *Verhandlungen des sechsten rheinischen Provinzial-Landtags, nebst dem Allerhöchsten Landtags-Abschiede* (Coblenz, 1841), p. 9; Schön to Stägemann, Oct. 30, 1826, and Nov. 19, 1829, in Franz Rühl, ed., *Briefe und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte Preussens unter Friedrich Wilhelm III., vorzugsweise aus dem Nachlass von F. A. von Stägemann* (Leipzig, 1899-1902), III, 278-79, 280; C. von Clausewitz, "Umtriebe," in Hans Rothfels, ed., *Carl von Clausewitz. Politische Schriften und Briefe* (Munich, 1922), p. 190; Clausewitz to Gneisenau, Sept. 26, 1817, in Georg H. Pertz and Hans Delbrück, eds., *Das Leben des Feldmarschalls Grafen Neithardt von Gneisenau* (Berlin, 1864-81), V, 246-47.

⁴ See Bruno Bauer, *Vollständige Geschichte der Partheikämpfe in Deutschland während der Jahre 1842-46* (2d. ed.; Berlin, 1850), pp. 6-30; Karl Schorn, *Lebenserinnerungen* (Bonn, 1898), I, 321; Varnhagen von Ense, VI, 72-76, 80.

⁵ Franz Schnabel, *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1929-37), II, 94.

⁶ Alexander Bergengrün, *David Hansemann* (Berlin, 1901), pp. 106-107; see also *Die Aachener Auführer, ihre Verbrechen und deren Bestrafung* (Cologne, 1831), for an earlier account on the effects of the introduction of machine production.

1846 found the Rhineland as thickly populated as Lancashire; the productivity of the workers in the mines and factories in the Rhineland regions, however, lagged far behind parallel cases in Britain. Also, the positions requiring technical skills still were filled largely by workers and experts from France and Belgium.⁷

Against the competition of the machine and in opposition to the rising power of the employer, many workers sought to revive the outdated medieval guilds.⁸ In numerous instances, the workers' blind rage also found a vent through the smashing of machines. This occurred frequently in the opening days of the Revolution of 1848. Isolated outbreaks of this nature had been noted as early as 1830, when the Prussian General von Gneisenau, recognizing the peculiar form of the uprisings, had advocated the organization of the bourgeoisie against this threat to property,⁹ a policy followed by the bourgeoisie of its own accord in 1848.

The position of labor remained relatively defenseless, despite initial Prussian legislation against major abuses. The workers possessed no bargaining power through organized trade unions. The power of the guilds to regulate the trades had been abolished in favor of a *laissez faire* policy. The guilds continued to live on but lost the right to control admission and membership to their own organizations.¹⁰ Child labor was exploited, although a much violated cabinet order of April 6, 1839, had prohibited the employment of children below the age of ten, or before the age of sixteen if the child had not attended school previously for three years, could not read, and had not started to write. A fatal exception provided that the factories could furnish the needed schooling. Night work was barred, and maximum of ten hours of labor became the legal work day for children.¹¹ According to the mode of the time, the wages of adults were reduced further through various devices such as fines and the widespread use of the truck system.¹² The Rhineland agricultural laborer enjoyed a lot which, while not good, definitely

⁷ Thomas C. Banfield, *Industry of the Rhine*, Series II (London, 1848), 15-18, 101-16, 236; see also Hans Kersken, *Stadt und Universität Bonn in den Revolutionsjahren 1848-49* (Bonn, 1931), p. 81.

⁸ Max E. Quarck, *Die erste deutsche Arbeiterbewegung 1848-49* (Leipzig, 1924), p. 9.

⁹ Gneisenau to Clausewitz, Dec. 7, 1830, in Pertz and Delbrück, V, 642; see also *Die Aachener Auführer*, pp. 3-10; Bergengrün, pp. 106-107.

¹⁰ Quarck, p. 5.

¹¹ This law, first applied solely to the Rhineland, became general in Prussia in 1839. See "Kabinetts-Ordre," *Amts-Blatt der Königlichen Regierung zu Koblenz*, Apr. 6, 1839, XXV, 41-42.

¹² Alphons Thun, "Die Industrie am Niederrhein und ihre Arbeiter," in Gustav Schmoller, ed., *Staats- und socialwissenschaftliche Forschungen*, II (Leipzig, 1879), Heft 2, p. 29; Quarck, pp. 18-19. A petition (1843) to the Rhineland provincial diet requested legislation against the payment in truck; it stated that the wares which the workers took home in lieu of money frequently were assessed from 50 to 65 per cent above their real sales value (*Verhandlungen des siebenten Rhenischen Provinzial-Landtags nebst dem Allerhöchsten Landtags-Abschiede* [Coblenz, 1834], p. 478).

was superior to the status of similar workers in the old Prussian provinces.¹³

As was typical during the early phases of the industrial revolution, the average Rhineland industrialist displayed much apathy toward the deplorable status of the worker. The idea of free competition reigned under which the employer felt no responsibility for the employee.¹⁴ Only a few enlightened and humanitarian industrialists evinced some sympathy for the plight of the worker.¹⁵ In 1844, Berlin industrialists even had approached with enthusiasm the task of creating societies dedicated to the task of raising the status of the working class everywhere in Prussia. After the first fervor had evaporated, the results, beyond the creation of a public awareness of the nature and the gravity of the problem, had been negligible.¹⁶

Concurrent with the above, rather typical, birth pangs of the industrial revolution, the Rhineland and much of Germany after 1844 was beset with special and unusual trials. A series of crop failures, food shortages, high prices, a business depression, and unemployment, added to the problems of a transitional period, brought catastrophe.

The potato famine in the Rhineland and neighboring states has been ignored rather generally, though contemporary accounts testify to the gravity of the situation as such and of the "potato riots" resulting therefrom. Such is the nature of perspective that the Constitutional Assembly of Prussia in 1848, in debating the problem, spoke of the potato disease as "also affecting England and Ireland."¹⁷ Beginning in 1845, the potato crop, already widely cultivated as the bread of the poor, failed almost completely in the Rhineland and elsewhere. The Prussian government showed an immediate interest, though most contemporary sources condemn the state for failing to see the full seriousness of the crisis and for taking inadequate countermeasures.¹⁸ The Prussian official Rhineland gazette requested early and continuing information on the scope of the disease which caused the potato to rot and on methods for curing or preventing the evil.¹⁹ An embargo was placed on the export of healthy potatoes to neighboring lands where the same situation existed and created a demand for potatoes.²⁰ From 1846 on into 1848 Prussia

¹³ *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen der zur Vereinbarung der preussischen Staats-Verfassung berufenen Versammlung* (Berlin, 1848), II, 838-40.

¹⁴ Bergengrun, pp. 52-53.

¹⁵ Quarck, pp. 11-12; D. Hansemann, "Denkschrift von D. Hansemann," 1840, in Joseph Hansen, *Rheinische Briefe und Akten zur Geschichte der politischen Bewegung 1830-1850*, I (Essen a. d. Ruhr, 1919), 243-45.

¹⁶ Bruno Bauer, *Die bürgerliche Revolution in Deutschland seit dem Anfang der deutsch-katholischen Bewegung bis zur Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1849), pp. 81-87.

¹⁷ Achtundfünfzigste Sitzung, September, 1848, in *Stenographische Berichte*, II, 1183.

¹⁸ Such as Schorn, I, 321.

¹⁹ "Dringende Aufforderung," *Amts-Blatt*, Sept. 18, 1845, XXX, 358-59.

²⁰ "Allerhöchste Kabinets-Ordre," *Amts-Blatt*, Sept. 28, 1848, XXX, 379; "Verbot der Kartoffel Ausfuhr betreffend," *ibid.*, 1847, XXXII, 1.

also abandoned all duties on imported grains, rice, meals, and grain products in general, which were in demand as substitutes for the potato.²¹ In order to lower the price of bread, the Prussian state also suspended the tax on ground corn (*Mahlsteuer*).²²

The food crisis soon became almost catastrophic when grain crop failures occurred in 1846. Importation of food remained difficult in view of the fact that neighboring lands also suffered from shortages. Under the circumstances, the Prussian government issued a number of directives and passed along much advice on how to make available supplies go farther. On the basis of a theory that freshly baked bread was less nourishing than older bread, the sale of fresh bread was banned.²³ In 1847, attention was directed to a rich fruit harvest.²⁴ The official gazette recommended the drying of fruit and gave specific directions on how to do so.²⁵ The extremities of the situation were best illustrated when the official gazette published the information that bread prepared from dried quick grass roots, ground into flour, had been found very nourishing by an estate owner in Pomerania. The mode of preparation used in utilizing the roots was explained, followed by an analysis of the food content of the novel flour.²⁶ Attention was called to rape and rape-seed as suitable substitutes for potatoes.²⁷

Late in 1847 and in the early months of 1848 the Rhineland, through public barbecues, began an attempt to popularize the eating of horse meat.²⁸ The *Trierische Zeitung*, with a socialist bias, surmised that this development would be pleasing to John Bull, since it would reduce the demand for beef and thereby lower the price in Britain. Throughout this period, the Rhineland displayed much resentment against the British, since the British undersold the Germans in the world markets and enjoyed a free access to German markets while discriminating against Rhenish wares.²⁹ Early in 1848 the *Trierische Zeitung* stated that the English worker wanted to live on German

²¹ See *ibid.*, Jan. 24, Feb. 27, Nov. 6, 1846, and Apr. 11, 1847, XXXI, 35, 73, 449, and XXXII, 166.

²² *Ibid.*, Apr. 25, 1847, XXXII, 192.

²³ "Frisch gebackenes Brod betr.," *ibid.*, XXXII, 232.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Aug. 22, XXXII, 403.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Sept. 27, XXXII, 464-65.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, May 19, 1847, XXXII, 239-40.

²⁷ "Rübsen als Nahrungsmittel," *ibid.*, May 27, 1847, XXXII, 258-59.

²⁸ A psychological barrier had to be overcome, since Rhenish children had been reared on the gruesome details of the retreat from Moscow, in which their fathers as French subjects had participated. One of the horrors of the Napoleonic exodus, oft repeated, had been that the retreating army had been reduced to the extremity of eating horse meat. Thus, in Bonn the citizens preferred to call the offering "steed meat" (*Rossfleisch*) instead of horse meat (*Pferdefleisch*). In a second public barbecue in Cologne the meat was consumed in the form of (1) "horse-steack," (2) "Ragout de Cheval," (3) "Cheval à la mode," and (4) "Cheval à la Polonoise," according to the individual tastes of the populace. See *Trierische Zeitung*, Jan. 3, 23, 31, 1848.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, Jan. 23, 1848; Banfield, Series II, 141.

meat, leaving the horse meat for the German laborer. That constituted Germany's "Russian retreat." The paper raised the question why this could happen only in Germany. Other nations protected the worker.³⁰ The belief existed in the years before 1848 that a strong national state, responsive to the popular will, would protect the worker, as well as the manufacturer. Protection against foreign economic exploitation constituted a need frequently voiced by those who favored revolution. The old German states and the Confederation had offered no safeguards for either worker or industrialist.

A German scholar, in a special study of the reaction of various social and economic groups in Germany in 1848, stated that the proletariat took an active part in the attempt to overthrow or alter the status quo; the worker had little to lose and could hope for gains.³¹ Such was the case in the Rhineland, even though it faced fewer hardships than occurred in the older provinces of Prussia. No hunger typhus prevailed as was the case in localities in Silesia.³² Nor were five eighths of the worker families reduced to a level of bare survival as in Berlin.³³

The crop failures in and after 1845 led to a decided rise in the prices of staple food products. Periodic quotations in the official gazette for the Coblenz district vividly reflected the growing food scarcity.³⁴ In October, 1845, potatoes had shown a price increase of over 50 per cent compared to the July quotations; the advances for wheat, rye, barley, and spelt were roughly one fourth.³⁵ By July, 1846, potatoes had nearly tripled in price, while cereals had risen about 60 per cent above the previous year.³⁶ The quotations for July, 1847, in contrast to July, 1845, produced the following results: potatoes were up over 425 per cent, wheat nearly 250 per cent, rye slightly less, barley around 300 per cent.³⁷ On the other hand, butter and meat, which few workers could afford, showed little change during the same period. An improvement in crops in 1847 produced a marked decline in prices thereafter. The food scarcities and inflated prices during the years preceding 1848 brought misery and despair to the urban workers; at the same time the peasant faced poverty when repeated crop failures prevented him from bringing any produce to the market.

³⁰ *Trierische Zeitung*, Jan. 3, 1848.

³¹ K. Adam, "Stände und Berufe in Preussen gegenüber der nationalen Erhebung des Jahres 1848," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, LXXXIX (1897), 285.

³² *Stenographische Berichte*, Aug. 16, 1848, II, 438-40; Adam, "Stände und Berufe," *op. cit.*, LXXXIX, 287.

³³ *Ibid.*, LXXXIX, 288; see also Quarck, pp. 11-14.

³⁴ A wider study of price fluctuations in Germany shows the same general trends. See Mombert, *Studien zur Bevölkerungsbewegung*.

³⁵ *Amts-Blatt*, July 21 and Nov. 21, 1845, XXX, 287, 450.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, July 25, 1846, XXXI, 302.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, July 27, 1847, XXXII, 362.

The rise in food prices had not been accompanied by an upward spiral of wages and industrial production. Instead, business was slack, orders fell off, and unemployment increased as English and Belgian competition and trade policies led to a declining demand for the more costly German wares.³⁸ Rhineland industrialists even faced the loss of the local markets. In asking protection for the iron industries, the seventh Rhineland provincial diet pointed to a progressive decline in the number of miners employed; Rhenish iron producers could not compete with English concerns. In Cologne, English raw iron could be purchased more cheaply than the native product. The diet presented figures to show a steady fall in production since 1839.³⁹

As a result, petitions from commercial, shipping, and industrial circles demanded a voice in the formulation of tariff policies with the object of shielding and promoting native enterprise. Specific tariffs, as on cotton thread and yarn, were demanded.⁴⁰ A special committee of the Rhineland diet reported unfavorably on Prussian tariff and trade policies. Other nations, so it stated, promoted a national merchant marine; Prussia did not. Again, German tariff policies facilitated the purchase and consumption of foreign goods. England, France, and Belgium allowed free discussion on economic questions and granted the people a partial voice in deciding trade legislation; the opposite situation existed in Prussia. Neither Prussia nor Germany as a whole shielded the native industries and workers. The special committee suggested a number of remedial measures. Prussia must create a powerful merchant marine. Colonial goods were to be imported directly from the source. The refining of raw products could then be undertaken by German enterprise and labor. A protective tariff was imperative, with special prohibitions against the goods of countries which discriminated against Germany. Tariffs were to be assessed on the basis of value and quality, and not on quantity, as practised in the *Zollverein*. The committee recommended the liberal use of rebates on the export of finished products manufactured out of imported raw materials. In conclusion, the committee stated that philanthropic and charitable institutions and activities could not improve the status of labor; Prussia, however, possessed the means in an elastic protective tariff policy.⁴¹

³⁸ Hans Stein, *Der Kölner Arbeiterverein* (Cologne, 1921), pp. 9-22; R. Sander, ed., *Gottfried Kinkels Selbstbiographie 1838-1848* (Bonn, 1931), pp. 190-91.

³⁹ "Bericht des achten Ausschusses des siebenten Rheinischen Provinzial-Landtags über einen Schutzzoll für Roh- und Stab-Eisen," *Verhandlungen des siebenten Rheinischen Provinzial-Landtags*, pp. 480-88.

⁴⁰ *Verhandlungen des achten Rheinischen Provinzial-Landtags nebst dem Allerhöchsten Landtags-Abschiede* (Coblenz, 1845), p. 266.

⁴¹ "Bericht des vierten Ausschusses über mehrer Anträge die Beförderung des Handels und der Industrie betreffend," *ibid.*, pp. 267-77.

As a final drop in the cup of suffering offered to the masses in the Rhineland, an unprecedented cold was recorded in January and February, 1848, accompanied by widespread illness.⁴² The reaction of the people in the Rhineland, and in Germany as a whole, to the conditions outlined above was potentially revolutionary. Socialist and revolutionary doctrines in general after 1840 attracted a growing following, which, however, was still largely inchoate and wholly unorganized. The workers especially began to make new demands on the state and society without having any clear or detailed conception of the nature of the changes desired.⁴³ Many, however, sought an immediate escape through emigration.

Considering first the escape offered through emigration, it must be noted that in Prussia the exodus of Forty-eighters appears to have been motivated largely by economic considerations. As such, it offers another index of the distress of the times. The tide of Forty-eighters reached its full flow from Prussia in 1847, continued with unabated strength in 1848, when liberal and revolutionary hopes remained high, and showed a decisive decline in 1849, when the counterrevolution triumphed.⁴⁴ We have various figures for separate localities dealing with the pre-1848 migrations. Thus, a decline in the demand for Krefeld textiles made 3,000 out of 8,000 looms idle in 1846. In 1847, the workers began to leave Krefeld. Previously, the city had shown an annual population growth of over one thousand. In 1847, the number declined by 51 persons even though births exceeded deaths by 400.⁴⁵

In previous decades the Prussian government had warned occasionally against the exaggerated hopes for a golden future in America and against the allurements of agents drumming up business for shipowners. In contrast, the official Prussian gazette in 1846 and 1847 was replete with exhortations to those who sought to escape their economic lot in Germany.⁴⁶ The frequent warnings in 1846 and 1847 against emigration without sufficient means furnish good indirect testimony on the frequency of such attempts.⁴⁷ On the eve of the revolution the socialist *Trierische Zeitung* in one issue

⁴² *Trierische Zeitung*, Jan. 22 and Feb. 1, 1848.

⁴³ Kersken, p. 21.

⁴⁴ Mombert, pp. 107-108; see also Quarck, *Erste deutsche Arbeiterbewegung*.

⁴⁵ Thun, "Industrie am Niederrhein," *op. cit.*, II, 113-14.

⁴⁶ Thus, on November 24, 1846, the gazette stated that, despite warnings against ill-considered emigration, a large number of families had sold what they possessed in order to go to Brazil or North America. From the Coblenz district 400 families had entered Belgium without money for the Atlantic crossing. Belgium had sent them back to their original communities. (See "Warnung wegen Auswanderung," *Amts-Blatt*, Nov. 24, 1846, XXXI, 464.)

⁴⁷ "Auswanderung nach Amerika betreffend," *Amts-Blatt*, Mar. 6 and Apr. 22, 1847, XXXII, 106, 184; "Auswanderung nach Brasilien betreffend," *ibid.*, May 13, 1847; and others. In Bremen, according to the *Amts-Blatt*, 8,000 people awaited passage early in 1847, while Rotterdam exploited the situation by doubling the oceanic fare (*ibid.*, May 6 and June 3, 1847, XXXII, 218-20, 268-69).

carried advertisements by two companies which specialized in the transportation of emigrants.⁴⁸

Emigration, however, offered an escape to relatively few in 1848 or in the foregoing years. The masses after 1840, therefore, somewhat blindly and haltingly had turned to various programs of politics and reform. The populace became susceptible to socialist or republican urgings. Like the Chartists in England, many felt that manhood suffrage and popular representation would produce a government responsive to the needs of the people. Others, believing that political reforms alone were inadequate, turned to socialistic schemes.

An interest in the lot of the workingman had received a royal Prussian sanction about 1844. In consequence, a rash of assemblies, organizations, and philanthropic efforts, all aimed at raising the status of the common man, appeared all over Prussia. Frederick William IV even had considered granting representation to the working class in the projected United Diet, which ultimately convened in 1847.⁴⁹ Engels, in 1844 and 1845, found the soil in the Rhineland and Westphalia prepared for socialist doctrines.⁵⁰ The Prussian state, however, soon scented the danger and erected curbs against revolutionary activities. But the *Trierische Zeitung*, moderately socialistic under its popular editor, Karl Grün, continued to present the case of the workingman and of social reforms, either because the Prussian authorities wished to frighten the liberal bourgeoisie with the "specter of communism" or because they had no objections to a moderate expression of the workers' interests.⁵¹ The idea of an alliance between the Prussian government and the proletariat against the rising bourgeoisie actually was suggested in a Prussian governmental paper.⁵²

It must be stressed that socialism and other revolutionary trends remained relatively inchoate. Organization and propaganda for change were still

⁴⁸ *Beilage zur Trier'schen Zeitung*, Nr. 70, Mar. 10, 1848. One of the fruits of the Revolution of 1848 in Prussia was the appearance of a more constructive approach to the problem of emigration. Instead of issuing merely warnings and negative advice, the Prussian government early in 1849 sanctioned the creation of a number of agencies designed to give accurate advice and aid to would-be emigrants at the cost of a small fee. (See "Verein für Auswanderung betr.," *Amts-Blatt*, Feb. 13, 1849, XXXIV, 34; "Gründung eines Haupt-Vereins für Auswanderer," *ibid.*, Apr. 7, 1849, XXXIV, 85-86.) The associations, according to the official gazette, were to aid emigrants with expert information. They also sought to obtain fixed prices for transportation of emigrants and their effects from the Rhineland to America, together with good lodgings, insurance on baggage, and satisfactory food.

⁴⁹ Herman von Petersdorff, *König Friedrich Wilhelm der Vierte* (Stuttgart, 1900), p. 60.

⁵⁰ Engels to Marx, Nov. 19, 1844, Jan. 20, Feb. 22-Mar. 7, 1845, in D. Ryazanoff [David B. Goldendach], ed., *Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels: historisch-kritische Gesamtausgabe; Werke, Schriften, Briefe* (Frankfort, 1927-31), I, 5-10, 15.

⁵¹ G. Adler, *Die Geschichte der ersten sozialpolitischen Arbeiterbewegung in Deutschland mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die einwirkenden Theorien* (Breslau, 1885), pp. 103-18.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 134.

difficult. It was recognized, however, that the masses were ripe for revolution. As early as 1844, a competent observer had pointed out the potentialities of revolution growing out of the economic and social ills which afflicted Prussia and made the life of the common man increasingly insecure.⁵³ In the succeeding years, "potato riots" and popular demonstrations occurred with growing frequency, even in Prussia, which had the reputation of being the classical land of order and peace.⁵⁴ Poets such as Ferdinand Freiligrath gave lyrical expression to the mood. Even Prussian officialdom, with the phrase that "need recognizes no law," showed leniency toward uprisings resulting from hunger.⁵⁵

The fear or expectation of revolution dominated the thoughts of all acute German observers by 1848. Joseph von Görres, anti-Prussian editor and writer, in a forecast for the year 1848, saw a vision of the "three heads of Cerberus"—radicalism, communism, proletariat.⁵⁶ Kinkel, noted revolutionist and professor, observed that the simple question of a constitution had receded into the background in favor of the pressing social issues.⁵⁷ E. M. Arndt, early in 1848, noticed that a dangerous trend toward communist republicanism existed among the younger generation in the Rhineland.⁵⁸ On February 1, 1848, the *Trierische Zeitung* denounced the frequent use of the phrase, "struggle against the proletariat." It inquired whether the proletariat constituted a horde of barbarians, which, in the words of one statesman, stood before the doors of organized society and demanded an entry. The paper proposed that the word "proletariat" be construed as synonymous with poverty, need, and misery; in that sense, the struggle would be against conditions and not against persons and classes.⁵⁹ Several days later the same paper again commented on the growing and painful consciousness of a conflict between capitalism and proletariat, the Guelf and Ghibelline struggle of the nineteenth century.⁶⁰ On February 25, 1848, the *Trierische Zeitung* predicted that the year would be a notable one in political history; the French Revolution was becoming European.⁶¹ Thereafter, a special edition on February 26, 1848, carried a factual account of the first news of the February uprising in Paris.⁶²

⁵³ Quarck, pp. 11-12.

⁵⁴ Adler, p. 136; Sander, p. 190; Varnhagen von Ense, IV, 76.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, IV, 80.

⁵⁶ J. von Görres, "Die Aspecten an der Zeitenwende zum neuen Jahre 1848," in Marie Görres, ed., *Joseph von Görres. Gesammelte Schriften* (Munich, 1854), VI, 525.

⁵⁷ Kersken, p. 21.

⁵⁸ Arndt to Max v. Schwerin, Mar. 3, 1848, in F. Jonas, ed., "Aus Arndts Briefen," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, XXXIV (1874), 616.

⁵⁹ *Trierische Zeitung*, Feb. 3, 1848.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, Feb. 11, 1848.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Feb. 25, 1848; see also Quarck, pp. 27-29.

⁶² *Beilage zur Trier'schen Zeitung*, Nr. 57, Feb. 26, 1848.

The February revolution in Paris may have been generally unexpected; the March revolution in Germany, though touched off by the news from Paris, was anticipated widely. The upper middle class in the Rhineland, well educated and acquainted with the trend of the times, dreaded a conflict between the propertied and unpropertied classes. Even before 1840, many Germans had come to feel that Europe faced the threat of a proletarian uprising against property, an event which might lead to the downfall of civilization, as they saw it.⁶³ Marx was not far amiss when he spoke of the specter of communism haunting Europe, if we interpret "communism" as meaning a revolt of the masses accompanied by demands of a leveling or socialist nature. Among Rhineland liberals the concern over mass uprisings was most marked. Thereafter, the opening phases of the Revolution of 1848 in the Rhineland only confirmed the fears of the liberals on this score. Attacks on factories, the smashing of machines, and destruction of bourgeois property in general soon caused the middle class to organize local preventive measures and organizations.⁶⁴ While the liberals in Cologne and the Rhineland in general requested moderate constitutional reforms through orderly processes, the masses, in contrast, demonstrated and threatened upheavals. In Cologne, the workers demanded the right to work, unlimited right of association, universal suffrage and eligibility for office, a guarantee of human needs, among other things.⁶⁵

The bourgeois liberals, of course, were ready to exploit, guide, and limit the revolutionary zeal of the masses in favor of moderate constitutional reforms and also the creation of a unified Germany. Many liberals were like Von Moltke, of later Prussian military fame, who spoke of enjoying the March events in Germany, in that he saw in them the only means available for creating a unified Germany under prevailing conditions. Like the liberals, he also emphasized that success in the undertaking demanded a continuation of law and order through the survival of a central authority. Von Moltke, however, predicted that the liberals would have difficulties controlling the masses and, in consequence, would become arch conservatives.⁶⁶

⁶³ Kurt Michael Hoffmann, *Preussen und die Julimonarchie 1830-1834* (Berlin, 1936), p. 103; Adalbert Wahl, "Beiträge zur deutschen Parteigeschichte im 19. Jahrhundert," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CIV (1910), 564-65.

⁶⁴ *Trierische Zeitung*, Mar. 10, 20, 21, 23, 1848; H. Brauns, "Der Übergang von der Handweberei zum Fabrikbetrieb in der Niederrheinischen Samt- und Seiden-Industrie und die Lage der Arbeiter in dieser Periode," in Schmoller, ed., *Staats- und sozialwissenschaftliche Forschungen*, XXV (1906), Heft 4, p. 3; Thun, "Industrie am Niederrhein," *op. cit.*, II, 113-16; Quarck, p. 33.

⁶⁵ *Trierische Zeitung*, Mar. 7, 1848; Quarck, pp. 33-35; Stein, pp. 26-28.

⁶⁶ H. von Moltke to Jeannette v. Brockdorff, Mar. 29, 1848, in *Schriften des General-Feldmarschalls Grafen Helmuth von Moltke*, I (Berlin, 1900), 251; For similar views see *Trierische Zeitung*, Mar. 16, 1848; Ludwig Pastor, *August Reichensperger 1818-1895*, I (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1899), 249-50; Perthes to Herzog von Meinigen, May 20 and June 20, 1848,

The influence of the Rhineland liberal bourgeoisie on the course of revolution in Prussia was momentous. Acquainted with the history of the great French Revolution, they recognized the danger that uprisings might become uncontrolled. Living in the more advanced industrial Rhineland and in closer contact with France and Belgium, the upper middle class in the Rhineland had developed a painful consciousness of the growing restiveness of the masses. From the first, Rhenish liberals favored constitutional reforms, but the revolution had to be controlled and limited. Law and authority could not be surrendered lest the masses seize power. Hence, the Rhineland liberals advocated a course under which the Prussian government, administration, and army would remain intact. Sovereignty would remain with the crown; reforms and constitutional innovations would proceed from negotiations (*Vereinbarung*) between a Prussian national assembly and the king. The establishment of a division of power between the king and a future parliament constituted the moderate goal. Naturally, the modesty of the program recommended itself to Frederick William IV during the tumultuous March days. Furthermore, the Rhinelanders had a very specific constitutional model in mind, the constitution of Belgium, wherein the middle class received adequate recognition, the usual personal liberties were established, and the Catholic Church was guaranteed state protection together with much liberty of action.⁶⁷

Under the circumstances, the Prussian king in 1848 turned to the Rhineland liberals for leadership, or perhaps refuge.⁶⁸ Ludolf Camphausen, a Cologne banker, and later David Hansemann, an Aachen merchant, provided the first ministerial leadership for revolutionary Prussia. As a whole, the petitions and suggestions of the Rhineland liberals to a marked degree helped to determine the course of developments in Prussia in March and April, 1848.⁶⁹

in Otto Perthes, ed., *Bundestag und deutsche Nationalversammlung im Jahre 1848 nach Frankfurter Berichten des Bundestagsgesandten Clemens Theodor Perthes* (Frankfurt a. M., 1913), pp. 35, 95-96.

⁶⁷ Joseph Hansen, "König Friedrich Wilhelm IV. und das liberale Märzministerium der Rheinländer Camphausen und Hansemann im Jahre 1848," *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst*, XXXII (1913), 184-98; Peter Reichensperger, *Erlebnisse eines alten Parlamentariers im Revolutionsjahre 1848* (Berlin, 1882), pp. 15-24; Anna Caspary, *Ludolf Camphausens Leben nach seinen schriftlichen Nachlass* (Stuttgart and Berlin, 1902), pp. 171-74; K. H. Brüggemann, *Meine Leitung der Kölnischen Zeitung und die Krisen der preussischen Politik von 1846-1855* (Leipzig, 1855), pp. 30-32; W. Struck, "Kardinal Geisel und die katholische Bewegung 1848-1849," *Preussische Jahrbücher*, CXI (1903), 112-15; Bauer, p. 206; G. Beyerhaus, "Ludolf Camphausen. Staat und Wirtschaft 1848," *Deutsche Rundschau*, CCV (1925), 24-36; "Hochverrath der Camarilla und Gegenbestrebungen der demokratischen Partei in der Preuss. constituirenden Versammlung," *Dokumente der Revolution der Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1848), pp. 1-24.

⁶⁸ Beyerhaus, in *Deutsche Rundschau*, CCV, 32-33; Hansen, in *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, XXXII, 170.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*; Mähl, p. 54.

While the traditional accounts for the March days in Prussia give adequate information on the political and constitutional concessions made by the Prussian king, little generally is said regarding the economic measures taken to alleviate mass misery and to forestall a further deterioration of economic conditions. Concrete steps were taken at once to prevent a complete breakdown. From the first, the Rhineland had urged the need of immediate relief measures and aid from the Prussian government in order to prevent mass uprisings. The Prussian *Oberpräsident* in the Rhine province, Von Eichmann, after consultation with the liberals, warned Berlin that it was doubtful that the revolutionary movement would stop with a purely political revolution. He stressed the fact that a danger existed that all factories would be forced to close down; a struggle with the breadless workers then would bring a social revolution in its wake.⁷⁰ The *Trierische Zeitung* pointed out that the calamity to trade and manufacturing was great enough already so that rapid governmental aid alone could provide the usual employment, thus counteracting the threatened mass revolts.⁷¹

Economic questions and the problem of relief had priority in Prussia. The Camphausen ministry created a ministry for trade, manufacturing, and public works.⁷² The establishment of a ministry of labor even was considered. Since one of the first objects against which protests and demonstrations had been directed was a tax system which pressed heavily upon the ordinary consumer, the Prussian government lowered or modified taxes on ground cereals and meat products.⁷³ Later the Prussian National Assembly considered the question of outlawing the evils of payment of factory workers in truck.⁷⁴ Ultimately, in February, 1849, a law banning the truck system in Prussia was issued.⁷⁵

The Prussian state showed a greater alacrity in furnishing direct relief and loans to keep factories operating, to prevent bankruptcies, and to initiate or continue public works. Early in April, 1848, a portion of the surplus funds in the Prussian treasury was allotted to the industrial cities; an outstanding banking house in Cologne was saved from bankruptcy; funds were advanced to continue the construction of a new railroad line. The United Diet on April 10, 1848, set aside up to 25,000,000 *Thaler* for loans to industry, the preservation of credit, or for the stimulation of trade.⁷⁶

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

⁷¹ *Trierische Zeitung*, Mar. 20, 1848.

⁷² Kersken, pp. 93-94; Mähl, p. 244.

⁷³ The taxes involved were the *Mahlsteuer* and the *Schlachtsteuer*. (See Kersken, pp. 91-92; *Trierische Zeitung*, Jan. 28, 1848.) Less than a year earlier, the Rhineland provincial diet had opposed the substitution of a graduated income tax for the consumer tax mentioned above. (See "Allerhöste Kabinets-Ordre," *Amts-Blatt*, August, 1847, XXXII, 386.)

⁷⁴ *Stenographische Berichte*, Oct. 25, 1848, II, 1779-80.

⁷⁵ Quarck, pp. 18-19.

⁷⁶ *Stenographische Berichte*, I, 494; Mähl, pp. 205-207.

Individual municipalities, acting through their bourgeois city councils, undertook extensive public works and urban beautification projects in order to provide employment.⁷⁷ Private persons, chambers of commerce, and heterogeneous groups promoted similar relief undertakings. Thus, Ludolf Camphausen, through the Cologne chamber of commerce, asked for private subscriptions to raise a fund to provide employment for the needy. In a day 53,000 *Thaler* were advanced.⁷⁸ The women in Elberfeld made a patriotic appeal to all German men in favor of the laborer whose basic need was work and not charity. A "buy-German" program was demanded; no more money was to be exported to pay workers in foreign lands; no foreign wares were to be imported.⁷⁹ The emerging Catholic political movement asked for work for the unemployed and a recognition of the fact that emigration constituted a national question calling for regulation in the interest of the emigrant.⁸⁰

The Prussian state also acted to promote co-operation between workers and employers in combatting the crisis and in resolving the tension which existed between the two classes. Prussia recommended the creation of local committees of workers and employers for the purpose of examining existing abuses and to work out remedies therefor. The nation was to be covered with a network of worker-employer committees of conciliation.⁸¹

Thus, through a diversity of civic, state, and private undertakings designed to minimize the misery of the masses and to reduce tension between the classes, the danger of radical upheavals became less of an immediate reality. The liberals, through the agency of the Prussian National Assembly, received time to negotiate with the crown on questions of constitutional reforms. At the same time, however, republican, democratic, and socialist leaders recognized that the liberal platform was basically political in nature and made few concessions in the way of social reforms. Favored by the newly acquired freedoms of speech, press, assembly, and association, the radical leaders agitated and organized societies and incipient party groupings with the object of achieving a fuller revolution. The liberals, and also the Catholics, in Prussia, therewith felt all the greater need of working with and through the old government and instrumentalities of power. Hence, they became increasingly dependent upon the Prussian government, wherein with the passage of months reaction gradually gained courage and ultimate supremacy.

⁷⁷ *Trierische Zeitung*, Mar. 17, 1848.

⁷⁸ Mähl, p. 264.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

⁸⁰ Stein, p. 33.

⁸¹ "Die Bildung von Ausschüssen . . . zwischen den Gewerbetreibenden und den . . . Arbeitern betr.," *Amts-Blatt*, May 25, 1848, XXXIII, 331-32; see also Stein, p. 39.

From the preceding data it appears that the hardships accompanying the early phases of the industrial revolution in the Prussian Rhineland, especially when aggravated acutely by repeated crop failures, soaring prices, and unemployment resulting from foreign competition and a minor depression, brought deep discontent among the masses in the years before 1848. In consequence, the common man was ready to strike at the opportune moment, thereby providing the mass impulse without which the Revolution of 1848 is inconceivable. The masses knocked at the gate of history, voicing special though still largely unformulated demands from the state and society.

On the other hand, an awareness of this fact brought to the bourgeois liberals fearsome visions of social revolutions, attacks on property, and the very end of civilization itself as the liberals saw it. To forestall any such debacle, the bourgeois liberals, while exploiting the threat of mass upheavals to get their own programs of reform accepted, favored a limited and controlled revolution. Reforms would issue from negotiations between a popular national assembly and the Prussian government, which retained full sovereignty and the instrumentalities of power needed to preserve order and to prevent further uprisings. The bourgeoisie and the government thereafter combined to foster certain economic and social reforms, accompanied by positive action against unemployment and hunger, which would alleviate the hopelessness of the masses and would lessen the explosive potentialities of widespread suffering. This was most true of the Rhineland liberals, whose role in the Prussian Revolution of 1848 was pointed out earlier. To a diminishing degree, though this requires a special exposition, it applied to the rest of Prussia and the other German states. Even in the Vienna of Metternich, the same discontent of the masses was a noticeable factor.⁸²

The subsequent working of the economic and social factors cannot be pursued in this article. It may be pointed out, however, that the forces of the left, from the limited following of Marx, through all shades of utopian socialism, to the adherents of pure republicanism, were not appeased and deceived. Feverish agitation and organizing activity carried on by the above groups kept the fear of a triumph of the masses alive. In each counter-revolutionary move in Prussia, be it in September and November, 1848, or in May, 1849, the government in every instance reacted to the radical agitation or action of the groups to the left. Under the circumstances, the bourgeois liberals, even if not always from the first or unanimously, remained generally passive and even took active steps to aid the state against the threat of renewed revolution. In the end, most liberals were resignedly content to accept the

⁸² This is indicated in Charles A. Gulick's survey of the early labor movement in Austria. See Charles A. Gulick, *Austria from Habsburg to Hitler* (Berkeley, 1948), I, 17-19.

moderate gains offered in the Prussian state-promulgated constitutions as the best which could be expected without incurring further conflagrations in which either complete reaction on the one hand or republicanism and "communism" on the other would triumph.

The rather general neglect of economic and social factors in determining the course, yes, even the very possibility of a revolution in Germany is unwarranted.⁸³ Marx was not living entirely in a dream world when he at this very time spoke of the "specter of communism." Neither can we go to the other extreme of assigning to economic and social forces a dominant role in historical causation. Certainly, the German 1848 is inconceivable without a proper respect for the importance of national feeling, fostered in the War of Liberation and given a new impulse by the Gallic threat to the Rhine in 1840, not to mention the inspiration derived from the predominant cultural and spiritual forces of the age. Nor can we ignore the middle class, with its traditional liberal program, which so noticeably occupied the stage in 1848. As a socialist newspaper ruefully stated in 1848, the bourgeoisie provided the "head" for the revolutionary movement; the masses functioned merely as "arms and legs."⁸⁴ A more equitable assessment of the forces at work in 1848 is all that is needed to attain a truer perspective and a more satisfactory evaluation of that revolution.

Certainly, the mass misery, hunger, and discontent which existed in Prussia on the eve of 1848 never could have produced the revolution. The unorganized masses and impoverished workers, in the absence of other forces, could have erupted into violent uprisings and multiplying "potato riots." Even if the workers had been organized to a degree, a monster "Charlist" petition and march, as of London in 1848, alone might have taken place, followed by some relief measures. But, on the other hand, can anyone say positively that the liberal and national Revolution of 1848 in Prussia would have been a possibility without the foregoing and accompanying presence of mass suffering and discontent. To say the least, the peculiar course and outcome of the revolution cannot be adequately explained unless the economic and social forces of the age are taken into account. Germany's 1789 came over fifty years too late, at a time when new forces and portents of class conflicts made a classical liberal revolution impossible east of the Rhine.

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⁸³ Excluding, of course certain special studies by German scholars and such general works as those of Veit Valentin, Franz Schnabel, and a few others.

⁸⁴ *Trierische Zeitung*, Mar. 18, 1848. The paper pointed out that Germany, under the circumstances, could expect no more than a peaceful 1830—bourgeois rule with some humanity.

* * * *Notes and Suggestions* * * *

Joseph Chamberlain and the Jameson Raid

HENRY R. WINKLER

ON December 29, 1895, a troop of Rhodesian military police, led by Dr. Leander Starr Jameson, pushed into the Transvaal republic in an attempt to overthrow its government. The move was the culminating act of a conspiracy engineered by Cecil Rhodes, managing director of the British South Africa Company and premier of Cape Colony. He had planned that the invasion should take place in concert with an internal revolution at Johannesburg in the Transvaal, but at the last moment the revolutionary movement had collapsed. As a result, Jameson's adventure "fizzled out," but its failure brought into the open the existence of the plot. The guilt of Rhodes and of Dr. Jameson, his administrator in Rhodesia, was apparent, but suspicions that the British colonial office itself was involved were soon voiced. President Paul Kruger of the Boer republic openly accused Joseph Chamberlain, the colonial secretary, of intriguing with Rhodes to seize his country, and his charge found a substantial echo in certain sections of the English press. Agitation for an investigation gained strength until finally a parliamentary committee was appointed, supposedly to investigate the raid but in reality to discover Chamberlain's part in its preparation.¹ This select committee's report, completely exonerating Chamberlain and the colonial office, was unsatisfactory, for it was obvious that no real effort had been made to uncover the whole story. Particularly unfortunate was the failure to demand from Rhodes's solicitor, Mr. Bouchier Hawksley, certain documents bearing on Chamberlain's connections with the affair. The view of the committee's actions expressed above is drawn from a careful survey of its day-by-day hearings. The Hawksley incident is not the only case upon which such an opinion is based. For example, in several instances witnesses were actually encouraged to withhold evidence, and the investigation was summarily closed on July 7, 1897, before some of the more important witnesses, such as Sir Hercules Robinson, the high commissioner of British South Africa, and Sir Robert Meade of the colonial office, had testified.²

¹ The fullest survey of the general subject of the raid and its consequences is Hugh Marshall Hole, *The Jameson Raid* (London, 1930). For Kruger's accusation see A. Schowalter, ed., *Memoirs of Paul Kruger, Four Times President of the South African Republic, as Told by Himself*, tr. by A. Teixeira de Mattos (London and New York, 1902), pp. 128-30.

² See "Second Report from the Select Committee on British South Africa," Great Britain,

The literature on the subject of Chamberlain's role in the Johannesburg revolt and raid is imposing, but until comparatively recently most of it was based, inadequately, upon the published documents of the colonial office and the minutes of the select committee. Although the general assumption has been that Chamberlain was implicated, it seems clear that no definitive statement will be possible unless and until additional material is forthcoming from the files of the colonial office.³ On the other hand, it would appear useful to fill out the circumstantial picture with data that have been in circulation for the past decade and a half. In writing his three-volume life of Chamberlain,⁴ J. L. Garvin had access to Chamberlain's papers, which he employed to clear his subject of any complicity in the affair. A re-evaluation of the numerous documents printed in Garvin's work, however, seems directly to contradict the author's thesis of Chamberlain's innocence and to give additional weight to the assumption of complicity. A number of the documents "missing" at the time of the select committee hearings were published by Garvin, and taken together with the rest of the evidence they indicate more than a strong probability (1) that Chamberlain was aware of the scheme for a manufactured revolt in Johannesburg accompanied by armed assistance from the outside, and (2) that he was in sympathy to the extent of encouraging and, in a certain measure, fostering it.

Chamberlain's connections with the plot began soon after he took office in the Unionist government of 1895. In July, Rhodes dispatched his confidential factotum, Dr. Rutherford Harris, to London to urge cession of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, directly east of the Transvaal, to the British South Africa Company. The agent was instructed, if necessary, to point out to Chamberlain that "in view of the grave situation in Johannesburg an immediate transfer would facilitate the placing of a colonial police force in a position to act should circumstances require it."⁵

Parliamentary Papers, 1897, IX, Cmd. 7333 (hereafter cited as *Select Committee Report*). Further evidence as to the guilt of Jameson and Rhodes may be found in the report of the Cape house of assembly, which Rhodes himself accepted as accurate. "Report of the Committee of the Cape of Good Hope Assembly on the Jameson Raid into the Territory of the South African Republic," Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1897, XXVII, Cmd. 8380.

³ In 1948 the colonial office papers for 1886-1902 became available for study. Of the materials bearing on the subject of the Jameson raid a large portion has already been published in the parliamentary papers referred to below, while the rest is disappointingly meager in significant evidence.

⁴ James L. Garvin, *The Life of Joseph Chamberlain* (London, 1932-34), III, 30-125. A recent brief discussion of the question in the light of these documents is to be found in W. L. Strauss, *Joseph Chamberlain and the Theory of Imperialism* (Washington, 1942), pp. 71-75, where the conclusion is reached (p. 71) that the colonial secretary "had connived at—and perhaps was even in collusion with—a conspiracy to overthrow the government of a friendly state." The present paper is an attempt more fully to demonstrate the essential validity of the conclusion.

⁵ Harris, Q. 6220, *Select Committee Report*.

Harris saw Chamberlain on August 1, and in the course of the interview made a "guarded allusion" to the desirability of a police force on the border, adding, "I can give you some confidential information" or "I could tell you something in confidence." Chamberlain stopped him, saying, "I am here in an official capacity. I can only hear information of which I can make official use."⁶ At the investigation the colonial secretary insisted that he had not heard or had not understood the reference to a police force. His statement was corroborated by his under-secretary, Earl Selborne, who declared that he likewise had heard no such remark.⁷

But even if Chamberlain did not hear the specific "guarded allusion," he appears to have understood the purpose of Harris' visit. His biographers argue that at this time he was preparing to protect British citizens in the event of a spontaneous Johannesburg revolution arising out of domestic conditions in the Transvaal.⁸ They agree that he had no reason to think that such an uprising was being deliberately engineered by Rhodes and take it for granted that he assumed Harris' secret to be concerned with the expected internal revolt.⁹ But if that were the case, then Chamberlain should have been anxious to receive any knowledge which might enable him better to safeguard British interests in the Transvaal. Instead he refused to listen to Harris' confidential statement. No convincing reason can be found for this strange behavior, unless it be that he had some idea of the nature of the disclosure to be made. Strikingly enough, Chamberlain himself later explained privately that he had been unwilling to accept in confidence information which he might have to use officially against those who tendered it.¹⁰ He suspected, then, that the revelation concerned some action against which colonial office measures might have to be taken. Consequently, the refusal officially to receive such information suggests that, having some awareness of Rhodes's program, he did not want to be put into a position compelling him to disrupt it. If this reasoning is correct, then connivance by Chamberlain is at least implied, but there are additional data which fill out the picture.

On August 2 officials in the London office of the South Africa Company wired to Rhodes, "Secretary of State for Colonies in sympathy with C. J. Rhodes's policy . . ." A message of August 13 included the statement,

⁶ Harris, Qs. 6220, 6358, 8510; Chamberlain, Qs. 6223, 9557, *ibid.*

⁷ Chamberlain, Q. 6223; Selborne, Q. 9596, *ibid.*

⁸ Such a revolt was predicted by many observers. For an example see James Bryce, *Impressions of South Africa* (New York, 1900), III, 46. Viscount Bryce was in South Africa in the summer of 1895.

⁹ Cf. Samuel Henry Jeyes, *Mr. Chamberlain: His Life and Public Career* (London, 1903), p. 508; Garvin, III, 38-39, 110-12.

¹⁰ Chamberlain to Earl Grey, October 13, 1896, in Chamberlain's papers, quoted in *ibid.*, III, 38-39.

"Chamberlain will do anything to assist except hand over the administration protectorate provided he officially does not know of your plan." And a week later, "You are aware Chamberlain states Dr. Jameson's plan must not be mentioned to him." These telegrams, not revealed until 1934,¹¹ show that the men who helped plan the Transvaal affair were sure among themselves that Chamberlain acquiesced in their project. His carefully stressed distinction between information officially and nonofficially received gave them grounds for that belief. The telegrams, like Chamberlain's own admission, suggest that he avoided all obvious connection with the plot because he favored it and did not want to be forced to take the restraining action which, as colonial secretary, was required of him. That he himself believed they implicated him is hinted by his positive and repeated refusal to demand their publication during the investigation and afterwards.¹²

The negotiations for the transfer of the protectorate dragged out through the autumn. In October, a part of the territory—a ten-mile-wide strip, ideally placed for Rhodes's purposes along the Transvaal border—was turned over to the Chartered Company.¹³ Two months later, Dr. Jameson was permitted to recruit a police unit from among the soldiers left jobless by the termination of imperial administration.¹⁴ While these facts in themselves are not proof of Chamberlain's guilt or innocence, they must be kept in mind as the review of other evidence progresses.

Part of that evidence is found in the series of telegrams which Harris sent to Rhodes during November. Most of the messages simply show that Harris believed Chamberlain to be aware of the plan, but one of them, which was also among the "missing" documents whose publication Chamberlain refused, is of extreme importance. Dated November 7, it contains the sentence, "Secretary of Colonies says you must allow decent interval and delay fireworks for fortnight."¹⁵ Chamberlain in his private papers attempted to explain this message by noting that his mention of "fireworks" was an open jest made to several Chartered Company directors, among whom was Dr. Harris. Significantly, no attempt was even made to discuss the "decent

¹¹ The missing telegrams, printed and analyzed in a colonial office memorandum, are in *ibid.*, III, 110–11.

¹² Chamberlain, Qs. 9584, 9585, *Select Committee Report; Parliamentary Debates, Commons* (fourth series), LI (1897), 1167–68; *Annual Register for the Year 1897* (new series) (London, 1898), pp. 169–70.

¹³ Chamberlain to Sir Hercules Robinson, Oct. 11, 1895, "Correspondence Relative to the Transfer of British Bechuanaland to the Cape Colony," No. 28, Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1895, XVIII, Cmd. 7932. The actual transfer was made on October 18.

¹⁴ Permission was granted on November 7, but the troops were not turned over until December. "Correspondence Relative to the Visit to This Country of the Chiefs of Khama, Sebele, and Bathoen, and the Future of Bechuanaland Protectorate," No. 37, *ibid.*, XVIII, Cmd. 7962.

¹⁵ Quoted in Garvin, III, 111.

interval.”¹⁶ This explanation does not dispel the impression of complicity created by the telegram. Its sender would have had to be extremely gullible to mistake a casual bit of humor for a calculated reference to the Rhodes and Jameson plot. Whatever else may be said of Harris, there is nothing to indicate he was quite so naive. Other defenses of Chamberlain have been suggested, but the most plausible interpretation is the one which appears obvious from the telegram—that the colonial secretary wanted an interval to elapse after the transfer of the Bechuanaland strip, so that the projected revolt and invasion would not be too closely connected with the change of administration on the frontier.

While Harris was sending these reports to Rhodes, he and Bouchier Hawksley were in constant touch with Edward Fairfield, chief of the African division of the colonial office. On November 4 Harris informed Rhodes that he had “spoken open” to Fairfield, presumably some time between August and November.¹⁷ In his testimony before the select committee, Harris declared that he had told Fairfield that Rhodes required an armed force on the Transvaal border, so that in the event of disturbances in Johannesburg it could be used “in connection with” the uprising. Chamberlain and Selborne both insisted that Fairfield could not have caught this “remark” because of his deafness, but Harris affirmed that Fairfield had made it clear that he understood.¹⁸ Since Fairfield had recently died, the committee could not obtain his own explanation.

Which testimony is to be accepted? Certain other factors may help to clarify the situation. Chamberlain contended that a further proof that Fairfield had received no information from Harris was the fact that he had never communicated any such information about Rhodes’s design to the colonial secretary. Such concealment, in the opinion of the latter, would have been impossible for his honorable subordinate.¹⁹ Yet on November 4 Fairfield did send an important dispatch to Chamberlain.

Rhodes [he wrote] having accepted the responsibilities imposed upon him, is naturally very keen to get the Protectorate question settled. . . . He wants you then to authorise the Bechuanaland police to enlist with the Company . . . Rhodes, very naturally, wants to get our people off the scene as this ugly row is pending with the Transvaal. That I think is also in our interest. . . . I do not think that there can be any doubt but that the Transvaal will give way on the immediate question of the drifts; but that will not end the political “unrest.”²⁰

¹⁶ Chamberlain’s papers, June, 1896, quoted in *ibid.*, III, 112.

¹⁷ Appendix 14, No. 17, *Select Committee Report*.

¹⁸ Chamberlain, Q. 9559; Selborne, Q. 9596; Harris, Q. 8580–84, *ibid.*

¹⁹ Chamberlain, Q. 8579, *ibid.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 449.

Certainly, a first assumption would be that Fairfield had received some inkling of Rhodes's plans, probably from Harris, and that he knew the enlistment of troops had to do with an expected "ugly row" with the Transvaal. Chamberlain, however, argued at the investigation that the phrase referred to the "drifts" question, a transportation controversy between the Cape Colony and the Boer republic.²¹ But two circumstances make that interpretation unlikely. Both Chamberlain and Fairfield knew by November 4 that the drifts problem was well on the way to settlement.²² And even more to the point, the likelihood of any connection between the commercial quarrel and the enlistments is challenged by the subsequent permission of recruiting—at the insistence of Rhodes—after the drifts had become a dead issue. The "ugly row," then, described some other affair that was expected to cause political "unrest," and the only probable unrest in South Africa was a revolution in Johannesburg.

Not only does the letter reveal that Fairfield knew that the transfer of troops had something to do with the expected Transvaal outbreak; it also points to a significant awareness of Cecil Rhodes's plans. If the problem was one of merely preparing to "protect British interests" during a spontaneous, unaided Johannesburg revolt, the colonial office should have had imperial troops ready under Sir Hercules Robinson. The Chartered Company certainly had no obligation to protect Englishmen in a foreign country. But Rhodes, strangely enough, wanted to get "our people"—that is, imperial officials and troops—off the scene, and a Chartered Company force on the border. Fairfield approved, and, contrary to Chamberlain's testimony, advised his chief to transfer the imperial forces to the company. That Chamberlain accepted the recommendation gives additional weight to the argument that the colonial secretary encouraged Rhodes in an enterprise he could not openly support.

Still another link connects the colonial office—and Chamberlain—with the conspiracy. Fairfield's letter was sent on November 4. Six weeks later, when the Venezuela boundary crisis with the United States was at its height, Sir Robert Meade, permanent secretary of the colonial office, wrote to Chamberlain:

Perhaps as we shall have to face German opposition you may wish the Uit-

²¹ Chamberlain, Q. 8579, *ibid.*

²² This is made abundantly clear in colonial office dispatches to South Africa. As early as October 29, the colonial office received word from Sir Hercules Robinson that the Transvaal government planned to open the "drifts"—as England had demanded—on November 5. "Correspondence Relative to the Closing of the Vaal River Drifts by the Government of the South African Republic in 1895," No. 10, Great Britain, *Parliamentary Papers*, 1895, XXVII, Cmd. 8474.

lander movement to be postponed for a year or so. Fairfield thinks he could get this done through Maguire . . . but if the movement is to be postponed it must be done at once. Fairfield is confident he could do this without compromising you—should you wish it to be done. He thinks that there are not many of the important men who are heartily in favour of this movement, though if rushed by Rhodes they will no doubt join actively.²³

Maguire was an official of the South Africa Company who had been in England for a short time and was about to return to the Cape. As an intimate of Rhodes, he was one of the prime movers in the complicated preparations for the Johannesburg revolt. Something of his connection with the plot was evidently known to Fairfield, for otherwise the latter's assumption that Maguire could prevent the upheaval is inexplicable. In addition, Fairfield took for granted that Rhodes was, at the very least, one of the important figures in the intrigue. Thus, it was clear to the colonial office that the movement, far from being a purely local affair, had ramifications leading directly to the South Africa Company. Chamberlain used the knowledge in his reply to Meade, advocating the following procedure:

Now as to Transvaal. Might it not come off just at the critical time if it is postponed now? The longer it is delayed the more chance there is of foreign intervention.

It seems to me that either it should come *at once* or be postponed for a year or two at least. Can we ensure this?

If not we had better not interfere, for we may bring about the very thing we want to avoid.

If Fairfield can make the situation clear to Maguire I should like him to do so—then the responsibility must rest with Rhodes and we had better abstain even from giving advice. I again repeat, the *worst* time for trouble anywhere would be about 6 months hence. I cannot say that any time would be a good one, but can the difficulty be indefinitely postponed?²⁴

In view of the implications of Meade's letter, it seems evident that Chamberlain's answer can be interpreted as nothing less than a cautious—and euphemistically phrased—go-ahead signal to Rhodes. Cognizant of Rhodes's association with the Johannesburg movement, he was expressing his approval, so long as there were no official ties ("we had better abstain even from giving advice") leading back to the colonial office. Yet he insisted repeatedly that he and his subordinates suspected no more than that there was internal trouble in the offing at Johannesburg!

²³ Meade to Chamberlain, Dec. 18, 1895, in Chamberlain's papers, quoted in Garvin, III, 71.

²⁴ Chamberlain to Meade, Dec. 18, 1895, *ibid.*, III, 72. The first reaction after the raid was apparently to insist that the colonial office had not even anticipated an armed revolt in Johannesburg but only "an open and above-board agitation, prosecuted without violence and within the limits of the constitution." This appears in a long memorandum dated February 4, 1896, drafted in the colonial office and dispatched by Chamberlain to Sir Hercules Robinson. See C.O. 417/177.

In contrast to Chamberlain's protestations of innocence is the rather striking fact that all those who were involved in the plot were sure that he approved their secret. Thus, Miss Flora Shaw of the *Times*, a frequent visitor at the colonial office and a confidante of Rhodes, wrote the Cape premier on December 17, "Chamberlain sound in case of interference European powers but have special reason to believe wishes you must do it immediately."²⁵ Her statement fits in very well with the views expressed by Chamberlain in his letter to Sir Robert Meade, but the important point to notice is that, for whatever reason, she shared the conviction of Harris and certain individuals at the Chartered Company office respecting the colonial secretary's position.

Others involved in the Rhodes scheme continued to hold that belief even after the raid had failed and had been condemned by Chamberlain. For example, in February, 1897, Hawksley wrote confidentially to Earl Grey, one of the Chartered Company directors, "I think the balance of probability is that they [the missing telegrams] will have to come out. If they do, Mr. Chamberlain will have no one but himself to thank . . ."²⁶ Certainly the people closest to the affair, who were accused of unjustly hinting at Chamberlain's guilt, took for granted among themselves that he was implicated and that the telegrams revealed as much.²⁷ It is possible, of course, that all these people may have misinterpreted his attitude, but that hardly seems likely in the light of the evidence already noted.

Finally, there is a remarkable admission made by Chamberlain himself to Miss Shaw just before the select committee investigation began. In reply to a direct query whether he had known about the raid beforehand or not, he said:

The fact is I can hardly say what I knew and what I did not. I did not want to know too much. Of course I knew of the precautions, of the preparations, if you like, in view of the expected trouble in Johannesburg, but I never could have imagined that Jameson would take the bit between his teeth.²⁸

²⁵ Appendix 16, No. 106, *Select Committee Report*.

²⁶ Hawksley to Earl Grey, Feb. 20, 1897, "Hawksley Dossier," reprinted from the *Independence Belge*, Jan. 6, 1900, in Jeyes, appendix IV, pp. 770-71.

²⁷ The accusation that the conspirators were trying to implicate Chamberlain in order to shield themselves appears in numerous contemporary articles and forms the main theme of Garvin's treatment of the plot. For other expressions of belief that Chamberlain was guilty see testimony of Sir J. C. Willoughby, Q. 5622, and testimony of Lionel Phillips, Qs. 6931-33, *Select Committee Report*. Willoughby was one of Jameson's officers in the raid and Phillips was a leader of the revolutionary movement in Johannesburg.

²⁸ Interview between Miss Shaw and Chamberlain, reported in Garvin, III, 83. There seems little reason to doubt the trustworthiness of this interview, first, because Miss Shaw and Garvin, peculiarly enough, advance it as helping to exonerate Chamberlain, and, more importantly, because it parallels almost exactly the private explanation made by Chamberlain of his conduct during the meeting with Harris.

Chamberlain thus admitted he knew of the preparations "in view of the expected trouble in Johannesburg." He knew, therefore, of Dr. Jameson's force on the Transvaal border and that it was going to be used against the South African republic. But if he believed the troops were only a precaution against possible internal difficulties in the Boer republic, he should have been fully informed of all the projected measures. Why, then, the curious reluctance "to know too much"? Once more, the only satisfactory answer is that he understood that the preparations involved more than a legitimate protection of British interests, but did not want to have to order them abandoned. As for the statement regarding Jameson's taking "the bit between his teeth," it is undoubtedly true, for the men closest to the plot were also surprised when he marched into the Transvaal even though the "revolution" had not broken out as planned. The fact still remains that before Jameson moved plans for a raid, under slightly different circumstances—that is, in support of a revolution fomented from without with the blessing of the colonial secretary—had been evolved and were in all likelihood known to Chamberlain.

From the foregoing survey it is apparent that the evidence pointing to Chamberlain's complicity in the Rhodes conspiracy, and in Jameson's role in it, is mainly inferential. A definitive statement is consequently impossible, but no other theory seems reasonably to explain certain of the data examined. Even more importantly, the colonial secretary's own testimony on several occasions fits perfectly into the pattern deduced from those data. The overwhelming probability is that he was aware of the various aspects of the plot when he transferred strategic territory and troops to the South Africa Company, and that he refused to have official knowledge of it because he wanted it to succeed.

Rutgers University

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General History

ESSAYS IN THE HISTORY OF IDEAS. By *Arthur O. Lovejoy*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1948. Pp. xvii, 359. \$5.00.)

FOR the past fifty years Arthur O. Lovejoy has been a pioneer and leader in two distinct yet related fields: philosophy, especially the theory of knowledge, and the history of ideas. To philosophers he is known as a champion of temporalistic realism (the theory that the existence and experience of time and change are fundamental empirical truths); co-author with Santayana, *et al.*, of an epoch-making volume, *Essays in Critical Realism*; and author of a brilliant critique of twentieth century epistemology, *The Revolt against Dualism*. To historians Professor Lovejoy is important as a defender of the possibility of attaining objectivity in historical knowledge and as a master investigator and evaluator of significant concepts and movements in literature, philosophy, and science. His volumes *The Great Chain of Being* and (with George Boas) *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity* are landmarks of scholarship and illuminating interpretation in the field of intellectual history.

The present volume brings together various already classic studies of Professor Lovejoy on primitivism, nature, and romanticism in eighteenth century thought. An opening essay analyzes twelve phases in the history of ideas and presents a plea for organized collaboration on the history of individual ideas or questions. The last three essays are on Milton and the paradox of the fortunate fall in *Paradise Lost*, the communism of St. Ambrose, and "nature" as norm in Tertullian. All the essays except two have been previously published in widely scattered periodicals. The two new ones deal with Tertullian and "Herder and the Enlightenment Philosophy of History."

Diverse in their subject matter as these specialized articles are, they will attract and hold the interest of all who are concerned about exact analysis and discriminating evaluation of key ideas in early modern or early Christian thought. Although scholars have since published much on the subjects Professor Lovejoy explored years ago, I know of no refutation or serious modification of any of his theses or findings. Rather I think that not enough scholars have utilized his ideas and discoveries. So standard an aesthetic authority as K. E. Gilbert and H. Kuhn, *A History of Esthetics*, fails to exploit the fine insights and novel conclusions contained in Lovejoy's studies on "nature" as aesthetic norm, the parallel of deism and classicism, the first Gothic Revival and the return to nature, the different types of romanticism, Schiller and the genesis of German romanticism, Coleridge and Kant's two worlds. But perhaps the best test of Professor Lovejoy's value to most historians is a comparison of his analysis of Herder's philosophy of history (pp.

166-82) with those given in such meritorious works as R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (pp. 88-93), and Emery Neff, *The Poetry of History* (pp. 21-78). Excellent as they are, Lovejoy adds a depth and breadth that makes one wish he had expanded this and other essays into full-length books.

We are fortunate that the Johns Hopkins History of Ideas Club celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary and Professor Lovejoy's seventy-fifth year by sponsoring the publication of this volume. We hope that he will be moved to publish other volumes of essays on the history of the theory of organic evolution before Darwin and on the philosophy of history. Meanwhile his public can profit by using these essays as tools for cultivating a better understanding of Western culture and the fine art of interpreting a classic or a movement sympathetically yet justly.

Rutgers University

SIDNEY RATNER

THE LIFE OF SCIENCE: ESSAYS IN THE HISTORY OF CIVILIZATION.

By *George Sarton*. Foreword by Max H. Fisch. (New York: Henry Schuman. 1948. Pp. vii, 197. \$3.00.)

It is true that most men of letters, and, I am sorry to add, not a few scientists, know science only by its material achievements, but ignore its spirit and see neither its internal beauty nor the beauty it extracts continually from the bosom of nature. Now I would say that to find in the works of science of the past, that which is not and cannot be superseded, is perhaps the most important part of our quest. A true humanist must know *the life of science* as he knows the life of art and the life of religion.

This statement of Dr. Sarton's is quoted by Max H. Fisch in his foreword to *The Life of Science*.

Virtually all scholars probably will agree with the statement and most of them probably would be proud to have written it. For it crystallizes the vague misgivings of many thoughtful men, scientists and nonscientists alike, that scientific viewpoints are likely to be too limited; and it suggests the needs for science and of science as contrasted with the contributions of invention and technology. The statement implies that science could and should contribute more to man's spiritual refinement, even as it has contributed so much to his intellectual and material development. The emphasis on the potential humanizing value of science is especially welcome to those who have deplored the artificial distinction between science and the humanities as factors in the intellectual and spiritual evolution of mankind.

The subtitle of the book, "Essays in the History of Civilization," is eloquent of the nature of the book itself. The contributions of science to the evolution of civilization is considered in perspective. Study of the history of science may help produce better scientists by acquainting them with past mistakes and triumphs as a basis for a better understanding of present problems and future possibilities, but, more important, "It helps to make scientists who are not mere scientists, but

also men and citizens." And again, "Science is the most precious patrimony of mankind. It is immortal. It is inalienable. It cannot but increase. Does not this precious patrimony deserve to be known thoroughly, not only in its present state but in its whole evolution?" This statement of Sarton's must strike a responsive chord in all those who have labored to humanize science and make it humanizing. And it strengthens the faith and determination of those who try to add as much as possible of education to a technologic training!

The new humanism, as portrayed by Sarton, is not necessarily unique in concept, but it is so beautifully elaborated in the chapter entitled "The Humanistic Point of View" that it deserves study by all scholars regardless of their major field of interest.

A reviewer can scarcely hope to convey a better idea of the rich values of these essays than by quoting from the foreword by Fisch.

The essays chosen, though far apart in time of composition, are united by spirit and intent. They were not planned with a view to being collected here. Yet, when read together, they have virtues a more formal treatment would lack. By their very diversity of subject and method, they give the beginner and the layman a livelier sense of the range of forms the history of science may take, and of the values that may be expected from it. They show by varied and lucid examples, both topical and biographical, that it is no narrow specialty but a liberating approach to human culture as a whole.

They are linked, moreover, by certain recurring themes: The unity of mankind; The unity of knowledge; The international character of science; The kinship of artists, saints, and scientists as fulfillers of human destiny, as creators and diffusers of spiritual values; The history of art, religion, and science as the essential history of mankind, which has so far been largely "secret history"; Science as progressive in a way in which art and religion are not; The dependence of other forms of progress upon scientific progress; The history of science as, therefore, the leading thread in the history of civilization, the clue to the synthesis of knowledge, the mediator between science and philosophy, and the keystone of education. The reader learns to recognize and welcome the variations on these themes. They end by becoming signposts for his own thinking.

A book review should not be a mere eulogy. Critical readers may not always agree completely with the author's estimate of relative values, but all thoughtful students must sympathize with the attempt to promote a better understanding of the humanizing values of science, as seen in historical perspective and in relation to other human endeavors. The services of science in increasing man's comfort are generally understood. But the spirit of science is appreciated all too little. And it is exactly the spirit and the life of science that is so admirably shown in the book.

The Life of Science is not only delightful reading; it is stimulating, it is thought-provoking, it fires the imagination and strengthens the scientific faith. The book is admirable for its profundity, tolerance, and wisdom. If this results from study of the history of science, the world needs more of it. For, in Sarton's words,

The speed of human progress is less important than its direction. Let us use our

best scientific and historic means to determine and to correct that direction; it cannot be determined once and forever, but must be continually corrected as our knowledge and wisdom improve. Then let us follow it as faithfully and as humbly as possible, allowing for the development of whatever gentleness and kindness there may be in us. It is a long way to go, but we should enjoy every step of it.

The reading of *The Life of Science* is a rich intellectual and spiritual experience; if anyone doubts it, let him read the book.

University of Minnesota

E. C. STAKMAN

KARL MARX'S INTERPRETATION OF HISTORY. By M. M. Bober, Professor of Economics, Lawrence College. (2d ed., rev.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1948. Pp. x, 445. \$6.00.)

THE volume under review is the second and revised edition of a work well known to historical scholars. Like the earlier version (see review by F. J. Turner, *American Historical Review*, XXXIV [October, 1928], 129), the study is largely devoted to an exposition of what Marx and Engels believed, and why they believed it. Whatever shortcomings critics may cite, this work remains one of the best presentations of Marxian thought and comes as close to being a reliable guide to what Marx really said as anything thus far published in English. Only the special student can ever hope to master the voluminous Marxian writings. Professor Bober, therefore, has performed a magnificent service in bringing together a vast amount of material under such vital categories as "The Bases of History up to the Present," "Marx's View of Human Nature," "The Basic Principles of Capitalism," and "Marx's Theories of Crisis." Since Marx was often obscure and not always consistent, Bober's running comments throughout the book cannot fail to be helpful. Bober's analyses, however, cogent though many of them are, will not settle the major differences among Marxian scholars or the perennial disputes among non-Marxist students of socialist thought.

The last five chapters attempt an evaluation of Marxian theories and offer a critical assessment of their significance. Here the jagged lines of controversy are sharply delineated. Here, too, Marx receives his full stint of praise ("a mind teeming with ideas and racing like a motor," p. 315), but Professor Bober really does not grapple with the most pervasive assumptions underlying Karl Marx. Certain scholars, at least, will regret that the changing social context during the interval between the two editions receives scant attention. In 1927 the New Deal was not yet and Russia was the Communist experiment; in 1948 the global war had been fought and a revolution in power relations had taken place. Such alterations suggest a different set of criteria.

Social science recognizes no unique datum which is the economic situation. An "economic situation" is at best a residuum of a total complex, a component momentarily isolated for analytical purposes. Nor is it easier to abstract a "non-economic factor." Economists, of course, deal with production, but the "factors of

production" are not solely economic no matter how carefully the problem is restricted. Although political scientists deal with the concept of power, power is not solely "political." Marxians have frequently dismissed the "spiritual view of history" but while the "spiritual" view cannot be dismissed, it cannot be employed to demolish Marx except in the reintegrated terms of current value theory. Just as it is not enough for Marxists to insist that ideas and values reign and "productive systems" govern, it is not enough for critics of Marx to proclaim that "productive systems" reign and ideas and values govern. It may be that both conceptual formulations are too narrow, that both are parts of a larger context, and that different orders of change help to explain altering emphases and relations. Moreover, an economic interpretation of history (if the assumptions are allowable in the light of recent psychological, anthropological, and sociological investigation) is hardly the same as an economic determinism. Such problems hinge on the nature of change as well as on the nature of causation, on multiple versus monistic points of view. Whether Marx was right or wrong in predicating future events does not necessarily invalidate Marxism. More important is the nature and scope of prediction in social science: do we strive to predict certainties or probabilities? What is possible?

The concept of the state is one of the weaker parts of the Marxian intellectual edifice. Yet Marx can scarcely be censured for failing to comprehend what current democrats have only dimly understood. No modern critique of Marx is complete unless full consideration is given to the political theory of democracy and the mechanics of democratic party government. New conceptual formulations and fresh research data developed since Wilson and Bryce must be examined and appraised. The processes of government, theories of power, the mobilization of interests, the natural history of majorities, and competition within and between parties suggest a thoroughgoing revision of Marxian principles. It is here that the greatest deficiency of Bober's critical analysis lies.

Sarah Lawrence College

BERT JAMES LOEWENBERG

DOCUMENTS ON BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY, 1919-1939. Edited by *E. L. Woodward*, Montague Burton Professor of International Relations in the University of Oxford, and *Rohan Butler*, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. First Series (1919-1929), Volumes I, II, 1919; Second Series (1930-1939), Volumes I, II, 1931, III, 1931-2. (London: H. M. Stationery Office. 1947-48. Pp. I, 969; xlviii, 971; xxxvii, 603; xxxiv, 525; xxvi, 617. Distributed by British Information Services, New York: \$7.75, \$8.40, \$5.50, \$5.50, \$5.00.)

THESE volumes represent a new adventure in British Foreign Office practice. Heretofore the publication of contemporary or nearly contemporary material has been virtually confined to the White Papers and Blue Books, issued to meet a particular situation and generally speaking in the nature of pièces justificatives. The one conspicuous exception—*British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-*

1914, edited by Gooch and Temperley—was directed to a single objective and not to a broad comprehensive coverage of British foreign relations.

The closest parallel to this series in Great Britain is the *Foreign Relations of the United States* put out by the State Department. The temptation is strong to compare the new British series with the American series, inaugurated over eighty years ago, but it will be enough to express the satisfaction of American scholars that the British are opening up the Foreign Office files to at least two competent scholars without restrictions. Unrestricted access to the British files is still confined to the period before 1885. This means that what the British editors give us must be taken on faith for an indefinite time to come.

For that reason the qualifications of the British editors become matters of first-rate importance. Professor Woodward himself assumes full responsibility for what has been done and left undone. Those who know him, both through his delightful autobiography and through his excellent monograph *Britain and the German Navy* (Oxford, 1935) will rejoice that the problem is in such competent hands. Mr. Butler, his coadjutor, is less well known, though his volume *The Roots of National Socialism* (New York, 1942) is widely used and highly regarded. They have divided the field between them, Mr. Butler assuming responsibility for the first ten years and Professor Woodward for the second ten years. In order to expedite matters still further, they are planning a third series to begin in 1938. Volumes in all three series are to appear concurrently.

The task which these gentlemen have to face is an enormous one. Incoming dispatches to the Foreign Office in the year 1938 alone amounted to approximately one quarter million separate documents. Their problem inevitably becomes one of selection and arrangement. Obviously as soon as one stops short of printing everything, the plan of arrangement, and of selection in accordance with that arrangement, imposes a pattern. The danger is, when all responsibility is concentrated in one man's hands, that the pattern imposed will produce a version of British foreign policy simply as one man conceives it. There is probably no escape from such a situation except by some clumsy system of checks which generally serves merely to impede progress without much increase in objectivity. One is permitted to hope, however, that some provision will be made both in the Foreign Office and the State Department for an advisory committee of competent scholars, with whom all major problems could be discussed and by whom all major decisions could be made.

The arrangement adopted by Professor Woodward is in the main a topical one. In his preface he has expressed his intention to follow the chronological arrangement by years and within the years by topics. This is in general the plan followed by the editors of the *Foreign Relations of the United States* and it seems to be an excellent one. Actually, Professor Woodward has not so far followed it with any consistency. The three volumes for which he has been primarily responsible cover chronologically the period between June, 1929, and July, 1932. But, with the exceptions of the papers on the London Naval Conference of 1930 and the abortive Franco-Italian Naval Conversations which followed it, the documents he prints are

almost entirely confined to the German financial crisis of 1931-32 (with an excellent section on the Lausanne Conference of 1932) and the beginnings of the Disarmament Conference in 1932. So far this is purely topical. Obviously there were many other important aspects of British foreign policy during those years. One thinks at once of Russia, the Near East, Latin America, and, above all, the Far East. On the Far East alone for the years 1931-32 the relevant *Foreign Relations of the United States* volumes contain well over 2,500 pages of documents. No doubt Professor Woodward will get around to these thorny subjects later, but one wonders how the complete over-all picture is to be preserved.

Mr. Butler's two volumes are confined in the main to the proceedings of the Supreme Council of the Allies in 1919, following the Peace of Versailles. Out of a total of something like 1,900 pages nearly 1,800 are devoted to this subject. Every document he prints and a good many relevant ones which he omits in these 1,800 pages had been published and were in his hands, before his first volume appeared, in the *Foreign Relations of the United States: Paris Peace Conference, 1919*, Volumes VII-IX. The intention of the State Department to publish this material had been made quite clear in Dr. Spaulding's introductory note to Volume I of the United States Peace Conference series, which was published in 1942. We must assume, therefore, that the duplication was deliberate.

A superficial collation of the two editions reveals the fact that the British text is considerably abbreviated. Otherwise, apart from a few French documents which are printed in French in the British text and are translated into English in the American text, the two editions appear to be identical. Scholars will probably prefer the American text because it is fuller and considerably less costly. It also has an index, which the British edition lacks. But the British edition is much better printed on much better paper.

University of Pennsylvania

CONYERS READ

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: DIPLOMATIC PAPERS, 1932. In five volumes. Volume I, GENERAL. Volume V, THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS. [Department of State, Publications 3208, 3210.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1948. Pp. cxv, 979; c, 979. \$3.00, \$3.25.)

As the preface to Volume I says, this publication constitutes the "official record" of the foreign policy of the United States year by year. For the year 1932 it takes five big volumes of selected and carefully arranged documents—the meat of the record. It is well for the reader of this *Review*, who sees notices from time to time of the succeeding volumes of *Foreign Relations of the United States*, to be constantly reminded of the criteria that govern the Department of State editors in selecting the documents from the surrounding mass of files that go into the "official" printed record each year, and to realize that the accumulation of documents pertaining to one "desk," or country alone today is equal to the entire accumula-

tion for one year of diplomatic records of the whole Department in George Washington's time. These are the principles applied, as conspicuously and conscientiously set forth by the editors in the preface to Volume I:

1. To avoid publication of matters which would tend to impede current diplomatic negotiations or other business.
2. To condense the record and avoid repetition of needless details.
3. To preserve the confidence reposed in the Department by other governments and by individuals.
4. To avoid needless offense to other nationalities or individuals.
5. To eliminate personal opinions presented in despatches and not acted upon by the Department. To this there is one qualification—in connection with major decisions it is desirable, where possible, to show the alternatives presented to the Department when the decision was made.

Clearance to be obtained by RE (Division of Historical Policy Research). In discharging its responsibility for selecting materials for publication in *Foreign Relations of the United States*, RE shall:

A. Refer to the appropriate policy offices such papers as would appear to require policy clearance.

B. Refer to the appropriate foreign governments requests for permission to print certain documents originating with them which it is desired to publish as part of the diplomatic correspondence of the United States. Without such permission the documents in question will not be used.

If, after applying these rules, five volumes are necessary for the year 1932, a comparatively quiet year of the interbella period, how many volumes will be needed for the year 1949? Already the official printed record has slipped from ten to seventeen years of arrears. If five volumes are required for 1932, from seven to ten may be necessary for 1949; but in what year will they appear? If the present rate of back drift is reckoned by the increasing numbers of volumes necessary in a more and more complicated world, is it likely that the parlous events of Atomic Year V will not get printed in our official diplomatic record before 1975? And where will the world have whirled by 1975? Will the 1949 record of American diplomacy be of much help to guide the years between now and then if meanwhile it gets swallowed up in arrears? Will it not go the way of Miller's *Treaties*, now engulfed and strangled, in fact stopped and laid by. Perhaps some cheaper technique of printing may make possible a larger volume of publication, but it cannot speed the editorial preparations. This is a problem which may well concern the learned societies, including the committee of the American Historical Association on United States government publications. If the editorial labors of the learned scholars in the Department of State are to be really useful in more than a remote academic sense, Congress had better get a move on and furnish the Department of State personnel and funds to keep the expanding official record of American foreign policy up to date. It is the historical Voice of America.

Volumes II, III, and IV of the five volumes for 1932 will be noticed in forthcoming issues of this journal. An extended review of the present two volumes would require more space than here allowed and more time than is vouchsafed

to this reviewer. One can only note the contents. Volume I, edited by Messrs. E. R. Perkins, Gustave A. Nuernberger, and William R. Willoughby, deals altogether with multilateral negotiations: the futile disarmament conversations of 1932; the Hoover moratorium on international debt payments; and diplomatic preparations for the abortive international monetary conference of 1933. Volume V, prepared by the veteran editorial expert on Latin-American affairs, Dr. Victor J. Farrar, deals with the American Republics: the Chaco dispute; the Leticia controversy; revolution or threats of revolution in Brazil, Chile, Cuba, El Salvador, Honduras, Peru; preparations for withdrawal of American forces from Nicaragua and Haiti; postponement, under unstable political conditions, of the Seventh International Conference of American States; and other less conspicuous subjects.

The persistent striving of Dr. E. R. Perkins and his staff of the *Foreign Relations* editing branch of the Division of Historical Policy Research of the Department of State of the United States government in Washington, U. S. A., against mountains of obstacles and public preferences for less learned scoops into public appropriations deserves the sympathy and support of all members of the American Historical Association who still believe that the guiding principles of American foreign policy and the history of our diplomacy have a significant place in the setting of the American scene and the development of our national character.

Yale University

SAMUEL F. BEMIS

THEIR FINEST HOUR. By *Winston S. Churchill*. [Volume II of THE SECOND WORLD WAR.] (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1949. Pp. xvi, 751. \$6.00.)

It was, as Churchill said, their finest hour; those last eight months of 1940. It was also Churchill's finest hour, the only time perhaps when he was literally indispensable, for in this short period were crowded the fall of France, the retreat from Dunkirk, the isolation of Britain, the preparations against expected invasion, the air raids, the exchange of British naval bases for American destroyers, the first proposals for lend-lease, the Italian invasion of Greece, the first North African campaign, and the most perilous activity of the German submarines. All these matters are brought within the scope of the present volume.

The general story is, of course, a most familiar one, for all its events took place under the fiercest searchlights of publicity that have ever been turned on military history in the making. But this detracts in no way from the importance of the book. It has a double value. Firstly, an epic story has been told in epic fashion, as if Cromwell had written in the style of Milton, or the same hand had held both the scepter of Frederick the Great and the pen of Goethe. Secondly, as the head of affairs, Churchill naturally knew many details of the war better than anyone else, and his narrative will confirm, check, or correct the histories of lesser men. No doubt, in turn it will have to be checked and corrected. Already his account

of the defeat of France has met indignant denial from several French statesmen and soldiers.

Among the novel bits of information in the book there may be mentioned a plan which Churchill worked out in 1917, during the First World War, for "tank landing lighters" and "flat-bottomed barges, made not of steel, but of concrete" for amphibious operations against Germany, a project secretly prepared for the Admiralty, which, however, up to the publication of the present volume, "has never yet seen the light of day" (p. 244). Similar plans were urged by Churchill in every phase of the Second World War, and he claims no little credit for suggesting the actual methods used in the Normandy landings of 1944 (p. 254).

Another valuable contribution to war history is Churchill's analysis of the German evidence which has come to light concerning "operation Sea Lion" (the projected invasion of England) and the reasons why Hitler abandoned it. He refutes the "widespread rumour that the Germans had attempted an invasion and had suffered very heavy losses either by drowning or by being burnt in patches of sea covered with flaming oil" (p. 311), though he adds that he was careful *not* to deny it while the war was still on and the rumor still useful. The real reason why Germany did not act was simple and prosaic; no large-scale invasion of a defended coast was possible until Germany had first mastered the sea and the air. Germany, having failed to obtain mastery in either element, was perforce restrained from using her army against Britain.

If Churchill's account of the Battle of Britain in the air has little novelty to military men, it has intense interest to us of the civilian public. He certainly tells the story with frankness and candor; for instance, he says, "No doubt we were always oversanguine in our estimate of enemy scalps. In the upshot we got two to one of the German assailants, instead of three to one, as we believed and declared" (p. 338). He relates in detail the scientific inventions and devices to lead German aircraft on the wrong course, explains his worries over broken windows and sewers and contagious disease in air raid shelters (all three menaces proving to be less than feared), pays just tribute to the heroism of the squads which extracted or exploded delayed-action bombs, follows the movements of Parliament and ministry from one shelter to another during the "Blitz," and in every respect lives over again the moment-to-moment decisions of those vital hours.

There are fewer novelties on the diplomatic front. We have, indeed, the text of the "former naval person's" (Churchill's) constant needling of the American government for destroyers and other aid, and his warm tribute to the American "act of faith" in aiding Britain at a time when many people thought that the British were doomed to a speedy defeat. We have the hollow compliments exchanged between the Russian and German governments during their brief and insincere truce with each other. We have Franco's tortuous procrastinations, by which he kept Spain on the sidelines while professing gratitude to Hitler and Mussolini. But these details only confirm the general impressions already reached by historians.

Finally, we have, in the appendix, Churchill's personal memorandums to the various officials of the British war services; keen, witty, practical, and astounding in their variety of topics: "I saw . . . a large hothouse with a great quantity of glass; enough was broken to make it useless, and I directed that the rest should be carefully stored"; "What increases have you been able to establish in the pig population by encouraging people to feed individual pigs from household refuse?"; "It is astonishing how this misleading Kennedy [American ambassador] stuff, that we should do better with a neutral United States than with her warring at our side, should have travelled so far"; "we should tell the Vichy Government that if they bombard Gibraltar we shall retaliate not against Casablanca, but Vichy"; "we dwell under a drizzle of carping criticism from a few Members" (of Parliament); "The Jews [in Palestine] should be armed for their own defence"; "I am sure we shall gain nothing by offering to 'discuss' Gibraltar at the end of the war. Spaniards will know that, if we win, discussions would not be fruitful; and if we lose, they will not be necessary."

University of Michigan

PRESTON SLOSSON

CRUSADE IN EUROPE. By *Dwight D. Eisenhower*. (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday and Company. 1948. Pp. xiv, 559. \$5.00.)

THIS volume is not personal reminiscence and chitchat, although General Eisenhower could have written such a book with charm, wit, and "color." Neither is it a long, documented account of the high-level strategy of Allied military operations against Italy and Germany; Eisenhower could have written that kind of book, too, for he had the requisite information and he demonstrates in this present volume his concern for the rigorous discipline of historical writing on a professional plane. These memoirs are something quite different—an intimate personal report to the American people on Eisenhower's stewardship as their representative on the Allied supreme command. The result is a dignified, modest, ingenuous, eloquent, and deeply moving book which deserves the popular acclaim which it has received.

This book is not military history in a conventional sense, although it contains a good deal of interest and value to the military historian. It is not primarily political history, either, although (notably in its accounts of the Darlan affairs and of Eisenhower's relations with Churchill, DeGaulle, Roosevelt, and Truman) it is the stuff of which political history is made. It is personal history, since it deals—adroitly but honestly—with other Allied leaders; the vignettes of Montgomery, Patton, Bradley, and Churchill, for example, are superb.

What are the things for which historians should look in this fascinating book? First of all, there is the fairly continuous treatment, throughout the volume, of the interrelation of war and politics. Eisenhower reveals himself as a firm believer in one of the basic tenets of democratic society, that the military must be subordinate to the civil authority; there are some shrewd judgments here on the subject of

rendering to the soldier those things which are the soldier's and to the political agencies of the government those things which are rightly theirs. Second, there is the vivid picture which the author gives of the complicated character—political, economic, psychological, moral, logistical—of modern war. And when the war in question is war by a coalition, the confusion is twice confounded. Collateral to this is the appreciation which the author shows of the impact of new weapons and new methods of warfare upon our social structure and upon the problems which now confront us. Third, is Eisenhower's own running account of the events of the war, from the grim days of 1942 to the final, glorious victory of 1945. Fourth, there is a good deal of perspicacious comment on men and events which determined our destiny in the last decade. Only in his account of the Battle of the Bulge—a name which the author does not like—does the book fail to measure quite up to its purpose; on this point Eisenhower seems unduly sensitive, since he gives, on the whole, a good account of himself.

It has been said of the last war that it was the best reported war in history. For this Eisenhower deserves a large share of the credit. He discusses at some length here his attitudes toward the rights of the press in wartime, and he sets forth with frankness the principles which governed his relations with the press. Also, he was prepared to give full facilities to historians attached to combat units in the field and to various headquarters, including his own. He has emphatic opinions of his own concerning the possibilities and the limitations of military history. "The judgment of history does not seem as important, in the midst of battle," he writes, "as does victory." The stresses and strains of war are not the most favorable atmosphere for the compilation of historical records or the writing of objective history.

. . . the lack of time and the demands upon the attention of all commanders and staff officers preclude the keeping of day-by-day and minute-by-minute accounts of everything that happens. Many significant actions are initiated by verbal contact, and frequently no record is kept. Battle orders, even for large formations, are often written after instructions have been issued in an exhaustive conference. Notes of the actual discussions do not exist. Moreover, later curiosity so often concerns itself with responsibility for thought and idea, rather than with events and results, that possibly even the most painstaking amanuensis could not leave any clear and unchallengeable account of all the occurrences that go to make up a campaign [pp. 255-56].

This does not mean that Eisenhower is impatient of the historical process or indifferent to history and historians. It merely indicates his concern that military history be written with due regard to its conditioning factors. As Supreme Allied Commander and subsequently as chief of staff he gave sympathetic attention, and lent his great prestige, to the end that our war history be written without fear or favor. And his directive of November 20, 1947, making available to historians all the essential documentation concerning the conduct of the war, is a classic document.

This book will be read by historians because it is history, because it comments on history, and because it is the work of the best soldier-historian since, perhaps, Caesar and his commentaries.

Institute for Advanced Study

EDWARD MEAD EARLE

Ancient and Medieval History

SOLON, STAATSMANN UND WEISER. By *Karl Hönn*. (Vienna: Verlag L. W. Seidel & Sohn. 1948. Pp. 244. \$3.50.)

IN opening his preface the author of this book remarks that while the Anglo-Saxon democracies produced several studies of Solon in the period between the two world wars (Linforth, Freeman, Woodhouse), no German biography of the reformer appeared during those years. This gap Hönn sets out to fill. His book is not a critical examination of the sources, like the first two English books mentioned, nor is it a monograph on the economic life of Attica comparable to Woodhouse's fundamental study. It is instead an interesting discussion of Solon's significance, with the reforms themselves receiving rather conventional treatment. On the first page the author cites an essay by Friedrich Schiller, published in 1790, in which the poet contrasts the laws of Solon with those of Lycurgus and attributes the whole, many-sided glory of Athens to the liberty established by the former. Hönn returns to this essay more than once, and its thesis dominates all his writing.

The book opens with a brief survey of the economic and intellectual changes that came over Greece in the seventh century before Christ and a sketch of the early constitutional history of Athens. These are followed by a long account of the reforms of 594 and by a concluding chapter on Solon as the hero of Athenian democracy. Though he has read widely in the modern literature on the subject (his notes fill thirty pages at the end of the book), Hönn rarely argues moot points and he offers little explanation of his occasional departures from the traditional story. Thus most modern writers follow Plutarch in saying that Solon was first brought to prominence in Athens by his conquest of Salamis. Hönn casually attributes this conquest to Peisistratus, a generation later, dates Solon's famous elegy on Salamis long after the archonship, and allows him no credit for the affair except in so far as his reforms strengthened Athens. One cannot help suspecting that he wrote thus because of his reluctance to picture Solon as a military hero. The author also speaks of the development of commercial and industrial classes at Athens and admits that in later times the leaders of these classes favored Solon's reforms; he describes Solon's trading expeditions before the archonship; but nowhere does he suggest that the commercial leaders had any part in making the reforms. In Hönn's opinion Solon was merely a high-minded aristocrat who rose above all class feeling, who was elected to office because everyone trusted him, and who was later

regarded by the Athenians as the founder of their democracy. Unfortunately Hönn had not seen J. A. O. Larsen's recent paper (in *Essays in Political Theory Presented to George H. Sabine*, 1948) in which it is shown that the Periclean democrats uniformly accorded this supreme honor to Cleisthenes rather than Solon.

These criticisms do not touch the heart of the book. It really is a work in praise of democracy. It is not addressed primarily to scholars but to a wider public. Interestingly written and embellished with twenty-four illustrations, it is an idealization of Solon and his conception of *Eunomia*—the equality in rights and duties of all before the law. It is conceived in the spirit of Grote rather than that of those Germans who have regarded the Dorians so highly. Only a few years ago such a book as this could hardly have appeared in the German world, and perhaps it is an indication of a new spirit there. As such it is to be praised most highly.

University of Illinois

J. W. SWAIN

HISTORY OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE (ACHAEMENID PERIOD). By
A. T. Olmstead, Late Professor of Oriental History, the Oriental Institute,
University of Chicago. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1948. Pp. xix,
576, plates. \$10.00.)

UNQUESTIONABLY this posthumously published work of Chicago's late professor of oriental history is a major contribution to the ancient history of western Asia. At last we have an up-to-date and reliable account of the important transitional period dominated by the Achaemenid Persians, to replace George Rawlinson's *Fifth Oriental Monarchy* written eighty years ago. In the interim there have been few additions to the Greek authors who constitute our primary literary sources for this period, but there have been many enriching discoveries by both classical and oriental archaeologists and great advances in the science of linguistics. Heretofore, however, these new materials have been capitalized mainly by classical scholars to illuminate different episodes in the Greek story. Professor Olmstead has reconstructed the whole period, utilizing every scrap of classical and oriental information from an amazing variety of sources, and viewing the history through the eyes of the Persian and the oriental rather than the Greek.

The result is a historical pageant as detailed, colorful, varied, and complicated as any tapestry or carpet woven by the descendants of these Persians who for over two centuries ruled most of the known world at the time. No contribution of the archaeologist, philologist, epigrapher, palaeographer, or historian has been neglected in the effort to make this ancient story come alive. Picturing all phases of life and culture in the ancient world, the author has discussed art and architecture, science and religion, politics and economics, king and peasant, warrior and priest, loan shark and prophet, and a host of other subjects and persons that make up the fascinating experiment in acculturation between the East and the West which marks this period in history: a period that is both the epilogue of the an-

cient oriental imperialisms and the prologue of the creative change that is to characterize subsequent Hellenistic and Roman times.

The work is thoroughly documented by unobtrusive footnotes which contain a mine of information for the expert but leave the layman unmolested. Professor Olmstead's eldest daughter has greatly increased the usefulness of the volume by selecting 168 illustrations for 70 plates at the end of the book, and has earned the gratitude of all by preparing exhaustive topographical, name, and subject indexes. The editors have added ten illustrative maps.

Yet the very virtues of exhaustive detail and comprehension make this remarkable book questionable as readable history, often too tedious for the ordinary reader. The work has been boiled down several times over the fires of publishing necessity and the result is too often a sluggish, slow-moving narrative, so packed with proteins and concentrated sweets as to be at times indigestible. On the other hand, it is only fair to note that the author did not live to effect a final revision, a task which his editing colleagues naturally shunned. Much better than his previously published works, the style is essentially the same: in so far as possible the ancients are allowed to tell the story in their own words; though often the shift back and forth between the past and the present, even within a single paragraph, is confusing to the reader. The method admittedly gives the work a unique atmosphere.

Another technique used by Professor Olmstead, from certain points of view, seems questionable: his reconstructions of dubious historical episodes that satisfy himself but give the layman no indication that the conclusion is disputed and afford the expert little insight into the processes that brought about the conclusion. The best illustration of this is the author's treatment of the prophet Zoroaster, presenting him without question as a contemporary of Darius and the early Achaemenids, with Vishtaspa, the father of Darius, as his traditional patron. With this the late Ernst Herzfeld agreed, as do a number of contemporary scholars; but it seems only fair to warn the unsuspecting reader, at least in a footnote, that this is still a controversial subject among scholars.

We cannot, however, ask too much, even of the great. In this history Professor Olmstead has again put in his debt the world of learning and scholarship. It is a pity that he did not live to continue the story in his projected *History of New Testament Times* on which he had already expended years of labor—tiring labor that brought his work to an untimely end and puts most of us to shame. Yet in this final volume for the public he has wrought so well that his concluding sentence seems justified: "Close to twenty-three centuries have elapsed since Alexander burned Persepolis; now at last, through the united effort of archaeologist, philologist, and historian, Achaemenid Persia has risen from the dead." By this resurrection our author has contributed not a little to his own immortality.

Princeton University

T. CUYLER YOUNG

A HISTORY OF CYPRUS. By Sir *George Hill*. Volumes II and III. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1948. Pp. xl, 496; vi, 497-1198. \$23.50 per set.)

In 1841 the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres proposed as a subject for the *prix ordinaire* of 1843 the history of Cyprus under the Lusignans. Count Louis de Mas Latrie spent several decades collecting and publishing an enormous mass of materials for this project, but he died before he could carry his exhaustive history beyond the year 1291. Now, a century later, Sir George Hill, the distinguished classicist and numismatist, has accomplished the task suggested by the academy with the publication of two magnificent volumes. They cover the entire period of the Lusignan dynasty (1192-1489) and the Venetian domination (1489-1571), thus continuing Volume I (1940), devoted to the ancient and Byzantine periods. The results of the researches of Mas Latrie, Iorga, Dawkins, Hackett, LaMonte and other specialists have been combined with the author's investigations of several decades to produce a magistral synthesis which is one of the major contributions to the historiography of the crusades.

In the space of a brief review we can record only a few words of appreciation and observation. Sir George takes issue with those writers who paint a picture of the prosperity and happiness of Frankish Cyprus while ignoring the oppression and poverty of the native population. In his absorbing narrative of the war between Frederick II and the Ibelins, while he draws a most favorable portrait of the noble figure of John d'Ibelin, the "Old Lord," "ethically far in advance of his time," he also emphasizes the moral deterioration of the anti-imperialist barons after Ibelin's death. He does full justice to domestic history, with its parade of striking personalities, especially Peter I and James the Bastard, and of the queens, Eleanor, Helena, Charlotte and Catherine Cornaro. The value of the Cypriot throne in Western calculations is well illustrated by the attention which the pathetic Charlotte received from the enemies of Venice in her more than twenty years' struggle for her rights. A curious detail in this connection is that Galeazzo Maria Sforza in 1474 schemed to seize the coveted island in order to attain royal status (p. 693).

Sir George maintains a proper balance among the main features of Cypriot history—domestic politics, the relations of church and state, the ties with the Western trading communities and with Mameluke Egypt, and the participation in the crusades. The concessions granted to Genoa and Venice are described in full detail. Illuminating is the analysis of Venetian policy in the reign of Catherine Cornaro: her counsellors "are to act throughout with the participation and agreement of the Queen 'so that everything may appear to proceed from her,' and the impression may be given that the policy of Venice aims at nothing but what justice and honest demand. . . . To this artless attempt," the author adds, "as to the inevitable failure, to produce such an impression, there is no lack of parallels to be found in the history of aggressive nations" (pp. 707-708). No part of the book is more valuable than the detailed description of the Venetian colonial ad-

ministration. It proved impossible for Venice to treat Cyprus as a commercial undertaking; she turned it into a military and naval base. The two chapters on the War of Cyprus (1570-71) constitute a brilliant monograph.

The range of references throughout this great work is truly extraordinary, and care has been taken to examine Turkish materials bearing on the War of 1570-71, with the aid of Professor Paul Wittek. Scores of knotty questions of chronology, numismatics, topography, and genealogy are solved in the footnotes or special longer notes. Two chapters on the relations between the Latin and Greek churches and on literature and the arts conclude the work. The "Note on Some Authorities" is a critical discussion of the important sources. The index is adequate, and the almost 1,200 pages of the book are remarkably free of misprints. It is matter of regret that these volumes, which will remain indefinitely the standard authority on their subject, have had to be so expensively priced.

University of California, Santa Barbara College

PETER W. TOPPING

BRITISH MEDIEVAL POPULATION. By *Josiah Cox Russell*, Head, Department of History, University of New Mexico. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1948. Pp. xvi, 389. \$6.00.)

PROBABLY statisticians and actuaries, accustomed to modern sources, will regard the records available for Professor Russell's study as extremely inadequate. Medievalists, however, will be impressed by the patience, thoroughness, and caution with which the author applies demographic techniques to medieval material. In some respects this book may be regarded as an essay on the statistical use of medieval records. Being familiar with the peculiar problems presented by such records, the author can explain how they must be studied in terms of what they do and do not tell. He has been working on these documents, both published and manuscript, for twenty years and presents his findings in more than a hundred tables and a dozen figures, with illuminating commentary. We may presume, consequently, that his data and analysis are as near the truth as one may hope to come.

One of the novelties of this volume may be found in the extensive use of the inquisitions post mortem carefully studied to test the value of the data obtained. "Probably the most important addition to knowledge is the setting up of life tables for several generations of English landholders based upon some thousands of inquisitions post mortem." Another contribution comes from the effort to make statistical use of information in Domesday Book previously ignored because of its unequal or incomplete character. Russell concludes that the population in 1086 was considerably less than previously estimated. Consequently he assumes a greater rate of increase up to 1348. The sociological conclusions which he then draws from this growth, in explanation, for instance, of the Hundred Years' War are generalized enough and sufficiently equipped with reservation not to alarm even a prejudiced historian. In general he concludes that the outline of English

population from 1086 to 1545 "is more exact than (1) English population from 1545 to 1801 and (2) more exact than for the population of any other country before 1750."

For the present reviewer the most interesting parts of the book were those discussing the plague. Careful analysis of the poll tax record (1377) leads to the conclusion that the initial losses from the Black Death were not a third of the population but were about twenty per cent. "While the plague was the cause of serious demographic difficulties the loss was rather that of constant high infant and child mortality than of terrible incidence among all classes." It also "tended to sweep off the older persons" as well as infants "leaving a larger proportion in the child bearing age group. This helped to make the inroads of the plague less serious upon the total population." While there may have been a decline of population of forty per cent from 1348 to 1377, and of fifty per cent by 1400, the plague "probably purged England of numbers of her weaker people, and thus raised the level of health there. Certainly the generation born in 1426-50 had a higher expectation of life after thirty than the preceding generations."

Williams College

RICHARD A. NEWHALL

MEDIEVAL LINCOLN. By J. W. F. Hill. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1948. Pp. xvii, 487. \$9.50.)

THIS venerable city, a Roman camp in 47 A.D., has found a worthy historian in Mr. J. W. F. Hill, citizen and solicitor of Lincoln. He has produced a scholarly and encyclopedic history of the first fifteen hundred years of its existence. To its preparation he has devoted the leisure time of twenty years. It is clear that he does not regret the time spent. The contacts with other scholars, among them the late Canon Foster, and with the history of the city itself have been their own reward.

The book is more than a valuable piece of local history (although it is that), more than a useful compendium of archaeological and historical detail (although it is also that). Mr. Hill has had the imagination to see the city in its setting, first geographically in the land of England, and then historically in the general flow of England's past. He has corrected and amplified accounts of the medieval borough in such works as Stephenson's *Borough and Town* and Tait's *Mediaeval Borough* and supplied valuable illustrative material which can be related to their more general studies.

For the general historian, however, by far the most interesting material is that which describes the growth of self-governing institutions, traces the relationship between the town and the crown, and recounts the growth and decay of the city's commercial prosperity. The town had its great period of importance as a trading center in the fourteenth century, when it was one of the staple towns established by the ordinance of Kenilworth. Its constitutional growth paralleled successive grants of royal charters and economic change. The government, never wholly democratic, became clearly oligarchic by the end of the fifteenth century, and this

character was firmly fixed upon the town by the charter of Charles I, which remained in force until 1835.

The organization of the book is a combination of the strictly chronological and the topical. This arrangement offers some difficulties to the reader, of which Mr. Hill was evidently aware when he decided upon it. On the other hand, it is hard to suggest what arrangement might have been better. In the treatment of the Bail, the Close, and the open fields, he has carried the story beyond the advertised chronological scope of the book on the ground that "in them the Middle Ages lasted into the nineteenth century." The topical chapters offer much fascinating material. The chapter on the Jews, for example, deals with Lincoln's most famous story, that of Little St. Hugh alleged to have been killed by the Jews in 1255.

Mr. Hill's scholarship is thorough and his judgment sound. If the reader finds himself at times confused by the detail and the lack of obvious guideposts to changes in direction, he should remember that the chief use of the book may be in the reliable detail it will supply for general and local historians.

New Jersey College for Women

MARGARET HASTINGS

MAGNA CARTA: ITS ROLE IN THE MAKING OF THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION, 1300-1629. By *Faith Thompson*, Associate Professor of History, University of Minnesota. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1948. Pp. ix, 410. \$6.50.)

THE two dates which Professor Thompson uses are significant in a special sense. By 1300, toward the end of the reign of Edward I, the Charter of Liberties, in its third version of 1225, has quite firmly attached to it the epithet "*Magna*." And in 1629, when Coke's Second Institute was written, it had indubitably become—or rather its twenty-ninth section had become—something very much like a constitutional guaranty against the arbitrary exercise of authority by the crown.

Professor Thompson gives with full scholarly detail the entire history of the charter between those dates and leaves little doubt of the unsoundness of the widely accepted doctrine that, until the parliamentary struggle against Coke, the charter was all but forgotten except as a part of the statute book or books and that it was this struggle, in the first stage of which Coke played so large a part, which gave it the position it now has in our tradition and imagination.

Professor Thompson has omitted nothing. All the legal documents and all the nonlegal literature are passed in review and the relevant passages quoted. It will scarcely be necessary for a student to have any other volume at hand for an understanding of what the charter has meant ever since the *Inspeximus* of Edward authorized all writs framed upon it.

The word "Constitution" in the title is, of course, to be understood in the sense of "constitutional limitation." If we think of a "constitution" as a distribution of governmental power, it is unlikely that the most characteristic thing in the English Constitution of today, the practical supremacy of the House of Commons,

owes anything to the charter. Nor does the famous section 29 have much effect today as a check on the authority that has so completely eclipsed kings and peers. Still, it remains a fact that the "Great Charter," which more than three centuries of reverential invocation has made so permanent a symbol, acts, if not as a barrier, at least as a brake, on any legislation in England that openly professes to be merely an exercise of irresponsible power.

In an article in the *Harvard Law Review* published in 1947 (*Harvard Law Review*, LX, 1060) on a much more cursory examination of the evidence, I arrived at much the same conclusion as Professor Thompson's main thesis. This thorough study should remove any lingering uncertainties. It is a model of scholarly research that will be appreciated by all students of English constitutional history.

Institute for Advanced Study

MAX RADIN

THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND, 1216-1399, WITH SELECT DOCUMENTS. By B. *Wilkinson*, Professor of Medieval History in the University of Toronto. Volume I, POLITICS AND THE CONSTITUTION, 1216-1307. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1948. Pp. xviii, 240. \$3.75.)

THIS is the first of three volumes. The second (in preparation) will cover 1307-1399, the third "The Development of the Constitution, 1216-1399." As the subtitle suggests, this is not constitutional history in general, but analysis of a particular theme. It develops the thesis presented in the author's earlier *Studies* to the effect that throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the "accepted tradition of the monarchy remained unchanged." The king really governs; the magnates representing the nation may correct his mistakes but may not permanently limit his power. Further the work is to serve as a source book which does what H. W. C. Davis did not in the ninth edition of *Stubbs Select Charters*: reflect changes wrought by historical scholarship based on wider knowledge, or the "product of changed assumptions and beliefs"; to present to the student "the problems which confront us at the moment arising out of modern research."

Following an introduction, five episodes are treated: "The Ending of the Minority of Henry III," "The Crisis of 1233-34," "The Paper Constitution of 1244," "The Provisions of Oxford, 1258," "The Crisis of 1297." A select bibliography heads each chapter. The key feature is the group of pertinent documents in English translation, welcome in this age of little Latin. Thirty-four in all, these include the "greats" of 1258, 1297, etc., official letters, and extracts from the "best" chroniclers thus happily restored to some degree of credibility. The author prefaces each group with a reminder of older views, sums up recent controversial interpretations, and follows with his own conclusions, some tentative, some positive. ("Moreover, in attempting to state some of the problems of the period, I inevitably

found myself trying to solve them.") Problems include dating of the sources, relationship of one to another, and intent of the framers. In respect to this last, the reader may question whether the documents are always equal to the burden of proof put upon them. It is just possible that students using this book may be more impressed by the problems modern historians create for themselves than by the problems posed by the sources.

In contrast to Professor Powicke's view of the casual and opportunist character of thirteenth century crises with their clash of personalities—"history, even constitutional history, is the history of persons"—Professor Wilkinson credits both king and magnates with conscious constitutional goals. "The great struggles were not simply for power. They were the outcome of a clash of principles and ideals. They were based on conflicting interpretations of the common good." Some aspects of government, *negotia regis*, concerned the monarch primarily. Others, *negotia regis et regni*, affected both king and nation, and were "in some sense to be disposed of by agreement between the nation and the king." Yet Henry III was "in his own mind the restorer of monarchy in England as consciously as, and more determinedly than, Charles II." On the other hand, the *universitas Angliae*, the community of barons and prelates, properly the "partner of the monarch in the state," were from 1258 to 1265 virtually his masters. Under Edward I, constructive national monarch, equilibrium was restored, to be disturbed only by the crisis of 1297. The magnates' aristocratic conception of parliament is recognized but minimized—in actuality they were representing the wider interests of the community of the realm. Welcome emphasis is placed on the role of the "gentry" in the later crises, and the careful attention which was paid to their grievances.

University of Minnesota

FAITH THOMPSON

HET BEELD DER RENAISSANCE: EEN HISTORIOGRAFISCHE STUDIE.

By *H. Schulte Nordholt*. [Porta Reeks: Bibliotheek voor theoretische en Cultuurgeschiedenis van het Historisch Seminarium der Universiteit van Amsterdam, Deel I.] (Amsterdam: E. M. Querido's Uitgeverij. 1948. Pp. 333. 8.90.)

It is a remarkable coincidence that at exactly the same time on opposite shores of the Atlantic two books were published which deal with a subject that very seldom has been discussed at such length. One of them was written by Professor Wallace K. Ferguson of New York University: *The Renaissance in Historical Thought*; the other by a Dutch layman, who shows a lack of professional finesse in his work. Both exaggerate the importance of Jacob Burckhardt in the historiography of the Renaissance, but in several other respects they present widely divergent opinions. Whereas Ferguson makes much of the Renaissance of the twelfth century, following Professor Charles H. Haskins and his pupils, Nordholt does not mention Haskins at all in his text and only once in his notes. Nordholt also shows greater discretion than does Ferguson in his refusal to minimize the

importance of the Renaissance in Italy and to think of fourteenth and fifteenth century culture as being in the process of decadence. The Dutch writer even goes so far as to conclude by saying that Burckhardt's thesis during the past fifteen years has been completely vindicated.

Although Nordholt was fully justified in coming so bravely to the defense of the great Swiss writer, he realized even less than did Ferguson the very simple fact that Burckhardt merely gave expression to a theory that was well known to distinguished scholars during the first half of the nineteenth century. Nordholt erred greatly in omitting entirely a suitable reference to the magnificent work done by John A. Symonds, who saw clearly the place occupied by Italy during the fourteenth century in the field of economic progress and classical scholarship. It was bad enough for Ferguson to regard Symonds as a mere pupil of Burckhardt, but Nordholt's misunderstanding was far more serious.

Nordholt regrets the tendency shown by so distinguished a scholar as H. O. Taylor, who in his most important books did not even dare to use the word "Renaissance." It is indeed strange that for some fifty years Harvard University failed to make a notable contribution to the historiography of the Renaissance and the Reformation. This, so reasons Nordholt correctly, is the result of looking upon the Renaissance and the Reformation as only a second-rate reverberation of similar movements during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. He would certainly have been shocked had he seen the amazing conclusions to be found in some textbooks published in this country during the past two decades.

In England and America, says Nordholt, historians have been too much inclined to view the Reformation, the religious wars, and the Enlightenment as a continuation of the medieval mentality. In this manner the Renaissance seems shorn of its real essence, namely, that of a renovation. Small portions are studied, but few scholars have the courage to describe the whole of the Renaissance in a brilliant manner, as Burckhardt did (p. 111). He is absolutely right.

University of Michigan

ALBERT HYMA

Modern European History

HENRY VIII AND THE REFORMATION. By *H. Maynard Smith*. (London and New York: Macmillan Company. 1948. Pp. xv, 480. 30s., \$8.50.)

READERS of H. Maynard Smith's *Pre-Reformation England* will be prepared to welcome this sequel, which displays the same virtues of sound scholarship, balanced judgment, and vigorous common sense applied to a much denser, more complex, and controversial body of materials. Perhaps the chief difficulty in writing objectively about the Henrician Reformation is that a number of only partially interdependent lines of development were taking shape at once, and, whichever series is chosen to supply the main chronological thread, the choice itself implies

an emphasis which threatens to distort the meaning of the whole. Dr. Smith boldly accepts the conclusion that the religious changes were contingent upon the politics of the court, that the breach with Rome, the assertion of royal supremacy, the dissolution of the monasteries, and the whole course of the religious revolution were determined by the personal and political aims of Henry VIII, and therefore begins with some two hundred pages on the "Political Reformation," even though this emphasis is not, one would assume, his instinctive choice. He restores the balance by a second part, "The Religious Reformation," in which the intellectual conflicts over doctrine, worship, and discipline, the introduction of the English Bible, and the growing cleavage between Protestant and Catholic are set against the background of the new economic motives and persistent religious sentiments of the time. The two parts pivot on a brilliant review of Henry VIII's career and character, which steers a prudent middle course between the Halls and Froudes and Pollards on the one hand and the Sanderses, Lindgards, and Gasquets on the other, and comes about as near to doing even-handed justice to the most complex and baffling of English monarchs as a humanly fallible historian is likely to come. The chief virtue of this sketch of Henry is the chief virtue of the whole book: a mature, temperate, independent, and discriminating judgment which makes this study an exceptionally reliable guide to a difficult period.

Among the really important relevant monographs of contemporary scholarship Dr. Smith omits to consider only one, Gordon Zeeveld's *Foundations of Tudor Policy*; and Smith's book must have been in the press before Zeeveld's reached England. We may regret the accident of timing which has deprived us of a synthesis of the fresh material about Starkey and Morison and of expert comment on Zeeveld's provocative generalizations, but the conspicuousness of the single omission emphasizes the range and critical tact of Smith's scholarship as a whole. One hesitates to question Dr. Smith's judgments. If they do err, it is on the side of charity towards the characters he must assess. It may be that Anne Boleyn could not possibly have been a poisoner (p. 38), although a number of people who knew her, including, apparently, her husband, were not so sure. And it may be that Thomas Cranmer was never time-serving or cowardly or dishonest, but just child-like and unworldly, with a rather bad memory. But even if one disagrees, one can sympathize with an eagerness to think the best of the poet of the Book of Common Prayer, and a historian who can do substantial justice to Thomas More and Hugh Latimer, Stephen Gardiner and William Tindal, Father Forrest and little Bilney is entitled to an occasional partiality. A few trivial slips may be noted: "Cyfuentes" (p. 62) is usually spelled "Cifuentes"; Hooper to Bullinger, Jan. 1547 (p. 222) should be Jan. 1546; "1528" (p. 332) is a misprint for 1558; "Norfolk's . . . son, Rochford" (p. 439) is unintelligible; perhaps "Rochford" should read "Surrey," or perhaps Wiltshire, Rochford's father, dropped out of the sentence by accident. Such errors are few and completely uncharacteristic. Even though one gathers that the final draft must have been prepared at some distance from the British Museum or the Bodleian, so that some book titles were

unchecked and some quotations accepted at second hand, the technical scholarship is, for the most part, impeccable.

Columbia University

GARRETT MATTINGLY

NOBLE LANDOWNERS AND AGRICULTURE IN AUSTRIA, 1815-1848:
A STUDY IN THE ORIGINS OF THE PEASANT EMANCIPATION
OF 1848. By *Jerome Blum*, Instructor in History, Princeton University. [The
Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series
LXV, Number 2.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1948. Pp. 295. \$4.00.)

MR. Blum's study is in a relatively unexplored field, the importance of which is emphasized by the controversial agrarian reforms brought about in Eastern Europe since 1945. Although his work is limited in the main to Bohemia, Moravia, lower Austria, Galicia, and Hungary, and concludes with the peasant emancipation of 1848, it surveys many questions relevant to the contemporary agrarian situation in Central and Eastern Europe.

Mr. Blum formulates four major conclusions regarding Austrian agriculture in the *Vormärz*:

1. A new interest in capitalistic agricultural production appeared among noble landowners during the years 1815-1848;
2. Noble landowners were the leading advocates of agrarian reform during this period;
3. The principal reason for this advocacy of agrarian reform was an economic one;
4. The emancipation law of 1848 enacted the program of agrarian reform that had been advocated by the noble landowners [p. 239].

The first conclusion is well supported by an interesting analysis of the impact of expanding population, commerce, and means of transportation upon the Austrian agrarian economy. Many noble landowners responded to this stimulus by introducing new crops, improving methods of cultivation, reclaiming land, and establishing agricultural schools. The second conclusion is less convincingly maintained and is somewhat ambiguous in its implications. To be sure, a number of noble landowners not only advocated technical improvements but favored converting quasi-servile *Robot* labor to free wage labor. Their motive may have been a belief in the greater productivity of free labor, but the growing population, which increased, as Mr. Blum observes, "the supply of agricultural labor available for hire," undoubtedly contributed to their new outlook. Moreover, while certain noble landowners can be accurately termed advocates of agrarian reform, it is not clear that these reformers were the spokesmen of the landowners as a whole. Mr. Blum cites as evidence petitions and resolutions prepared by the provincial assemblies, which were dominated by the landowners, and places the burden of responsibility for the failure to achieve any substantial results upon a reluctant and reactionary central government. But an examination of the examples given shows

a very considerable opposition to change in the assemblies themselves, especially in the upper houses. Mr. Blum's statement, "The noble landowners, who were the ostensible beneficiaries of the system of hereditary subjection, had entered the lists against it" (p. 203), is too sweeping on the basis of the evidence provided.

The ambiguity on this point also clouds the third and fourth conclusions. Mr. Blum admits the possibility that the "hobgoblin of a jacquerie outweighed the other considerations" in the minds of the landowners. Judgment on this politically important question naturally depends upon the extent to which the landowners as a whole were already reformers for economic reasons. The significance of the same question in an interpretation of the emancipation of September 7, 1848, and the law of March 4, 1849, is obvious.

Columbia University

HENRY L. ROBERTS

LES ORIGINES DE LA GRANDE INDUSTRIE METALLURGIQUE FRANÇAISE. By *Bertrand Gille*. [Collection d'histoire sociale.] (Paris: Domat. [1947]. Pp. xxxi, 212. 750 fr.)

FRENCH historians may be divided, with few exceptions, into two groups: the professors and the archivists. And if the former dominate in numbers and prestige, the latter "know how to handle the dossiers," no mean advantage in a country whose long bureaucratic tradition has made the archives the source par excellence. In the friendly rivalry between these two groups, Bertrand Gille's recent history of the French iron industry during the eighteenth century scores heavily for the graduates of the *École des Chartes*.

It is a thorough, well-organized job. The author takes very little for granted, perhaps even going too far when he briefly resumes the origins of French metallurgy in Gallic and Roman times. The body of the work consists of a detailed, compact analysis of the geographical and physical basis of the industry, the techniques employed from the extraction of the ore to the shaping of the finished product, the local, national, and international markets, and the human element, employers and employed. The volume concludes with the examination of some eighteenth century examples of industrial concentration, born, so to speak, two or three generations too soon.

The book is conscientiously and impeccably documented in the European tradition of the definitive monograph. The reader is certainly impressed, almost overwhelmed, by the extent of M. Gille's researches: national and naval archives, the records of twenty-eight departments, private papers, local municipal deposits, and so on. Obviously the author has combed the field and worked his way up from the bottom.

And yet at the same time, he has managed to bring order into this welter of detail and to produce an eminently readable work, not the least of whose merits is its precision and clarity. It is quite an achievement. In this respect, the description of metallurgical techniques, which is accompanied by a useful discussion of the

contemporary literature on the subject, is outstanding. Also worthy of note is the study of the social origins of the owners of these forges and furnaces and the analysis of their sources of capital. On the other hand, the book does suffer for lack of an index.

If there is any cavil, it is perhaps a vague dissatisfaction with the larger aspects of the work. It is one of those treatises whose matter-of-factness and scrupulous objectivity make it almost impossible to point to a theme or a motif. M. Gille tells us about French iron production, how, how much, where, by whom. He shows us ironmasters, mines, forges, companies. But somehow, he does not situate the industry as a whole in the main stream of French economic development. The reader could well use some further details on the nature of French iron consumption, on the relationship between price and demand, on the comparative situation in England and elsewhere. For from one point of view, the story of French industry and commerce in general is the story of France's metallurgy, its lack of coal, its relatively inadequate techniques, its neglect of the possibilities of iron and steel. Gille points to the fact that in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, France surpassed England as a producer of iron both in method and quantity. Why, then, the inferiority that is already marked toward the end of the Old Regime? That, it seems to me, is the crux of the matter. In a way, of course, it is all in the point of view. Gille very correctly sees in the inchoate, disorganized, but growing metallurgy of the eighteenth century the harbinger of Schneider and Le Creusot, of the Comité des Forges, of the furnaces of Lorraine and the forges of the Pas-de-Calais. The foreign observer sees the dangerous symptoms of technological backwardness and increasing signs of weakness by comparison with other European nations.

Yet as indicated above, this remains essentially a cavil, and can in no way detract from the fundamental solidity of the work. This is economic history as it should be written: thorough, detailed and yet clear, based on an intimate knowledge of the technology of the period. Above all, it is for the most part new, and, as such, an invaluable addition to the rather meager fund of works on French industrial history. It makes one all the more eager to see M. Gille's forthcoming sequel on the nineteenth century.

Paris, France

DAVID S. LANDES

THE SCANDINAVIANS IN HISTORY. By *S. M. Toyne*. With a Foreword by G. M. Trevelyan, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1949. Pp. 352. \$4.50.)

To give to English-speaking readers some clearer conception of the Scandinavian peoples "than can be formed from the very meagre and disconnected references in our histories" is the intent of this volume. As it turns out the author has succeeded best with his chapters on Sweden and Denmark, from the Kalmar Union to the days of Bernadotte. In these chapters, making up about two thirds of the

volume, the author's narrative is uniformly well composed and presents a generally coherent picture of developments in the two countries. In the course of it there is time for several biographical sketches of kings and public figures which lend color to the narrative and do the author credit.

The volume as a whole, however, is marked by some lack of proportion. Quite noticeable, in view of the author's evident intention to emphasize developments which have been of importance to Britain, is the scant treatment of Norway. The latter is mentioned only in scattered passages and paragraphs, apart from a closing chapter entitled "Norway and Sweden from 1815"—there is, for instance, no adequate reference to the medieval Norse empire which for an appreciable time affected no small portion of the littoral of the British Isles.

Certain statements in the volume will not increase the reader's confidence. Thus, the common Scandinavian tongue of pre-Christian days is referred to as *Norsk* (pp. 22, 247); Olaf Tryggvason turns out to be of Swedish origin (pp. 16, 304); the Heruls of the migration period become "the ruling class" "known as Magyars" in Hungary (p. 41). Some typographical slips would be eliminated through further proofreading, but others suggest a basic unfamiliarity with the material in hand; thus: Jömborg (pp. 32, 40); Jordeborg (p. 73); Wallenweber (p. 108); Schested (pp. 182, 185, 187, 188); Chrydenius (p. 212); Uland (p. 282); Wengeland (p. 282); Hagerhup (p. 284); Almquist (p. 287); Wehenshiold (p. 292); Svinhound! (p. 319).

On two important periods, the Viking age and the modern period, the treatment is sketchy and inadequate. Much has happened in the North in the twentieth century to evoke renewed interest in the northern peoples—in literature, in the fine arts, in social legislation, in experiences with the "middle way," and in the two world wars. These developments call for a fresh synthesis, particularly for the English reader. But here none is seriously attempted, save for the perennial Slesvig question; on this disputed matter the author states unequivocally that the new boundary must be drawn from Dannevirke to Husum, giving Denmark most of Slesvig.

A glance at predecessors of Toyne's volume, such as Stefansson or Otte, serves to emphasize at once how long and how urgently has been needed an up-to-date volume on the history of the northern peoples. It would be a pleasure to record that now the need was met. Here this would be to claim too much. Toyne's volume, however, in spite of its appreciable shortcomings, is welcome for the merits it does have—so urgent is the need for a new volume in this field.

New York University

OSCAR J. FALNES

A HISTORY OF NORWAY. By *Karen Larsen*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press for American-Scandinavian Foundation, New York. 1948. Pp. x, 591. \$6.00.)

A LONG-felt need has been met by this new history of Norway by Professor

Karen Larsen, of St. Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota. The two-volume *History of the Norwegian People* by the late Professor Knut Gjerset, which appeared in 1915, has long been out of print. Though at its date a very meritorious work, it was in many respects made obsolete by the busy period of researches that followed close upon its publication. Miss Larsen proves on the whole very well posted on the results of these researches, and she has produced a very useful and generally successful work. It embraces all aspects of the historical development of Norway—economic, social, and political history, literature and art; and, though of course she cannot penetrate equally profoundly each different field of national life, it is surprising how many illuminating facts the author has managed to include. She has had to base her work chiefly on the works of preceding authors, but in many cases she has been able to draw from the primary sources, and in controversial matters she shows a fair discrimination. She has not escaped a number of inaccuracies, but they are mostly of small importance. The book is well organized and fluently written, thus appealing to the general reader as well as to the student of history.

The history of Norway has a claim on general interest for three reasons: first, because it presents the growth of one of the freest and best-organized democracies of the world; second, because it contains in part one of the most stirring events of European history, the Viking invasions; third, because, by its dramatic fluctuation between power and weakness, decline and rise, it poses to the historian far-reaching problems regarding the forces that determine the destiny of nations. Essentially, Miss Larsen fulfills the demands that arise from these considerations. I think, however, she exaggerates the invigorating effect of the Viking excursions on European history, though, in this regard, she may cite the authority of Charles H. Haskins. Also, in my opinion, she pictures the medieval "greatness" of Norway in more brilliant colors than justified by the facts. She thereby makes it extremely difficult to explain the sudden decline of the kingdom, its loss of independence, and the disappearance of high intellectual life.

As to the political aspect of the transformation of Norway into a province of Denmark, the author evinces a certain looseness of legal thinking. Queen Margaret, who in 1388 inaugurated the union of the three Scandinavian kingdoms, did not, as Miss Larsen says, become a queen by being elected their regent. She was a queen by virtue of having married a king of Norway who, also, took the title of king of Sweden. As a widow she was elected the "plenipotentiary lord" of each one of the three kingdoms without any particular title. Incidentally, she was not, as Miss Larsen asserts, the first woman ruler of her age. The house of Anjou had given a reigning queen, Joanna I, to the kingdom of Naples as early as 1343, and in the year of her death, 1382, two of her nieces were elected queens, the one, Mary, of Hungary, the other, Jadwiga, of Poland. It is quite possible that these examples meant something in the elevation of Margaret.

The enthronement of the Danish king Christian I as the king of Norway in 1450 certainly made an epoch in the history of the union of the kingdoms; but

Miss Larsen errs in saying that he called himself a king of "Denmark-Norway," a term used by historians for practical purposes but never legally accepted.

The actual abolition of independent government for Norway was achieved in 1537. But, in this case, Miss Larsen omits a discussion or clarification of the complicated and controversial question of the legal and political purport of acts and action. In the period following she finds more signs of independent government than actually existed, and she constructs a reorganization of Norway as a kingdom at the close of the sixteenth century on insufficient premises. Very ably, however, she points out the traditions and advances that made the revival of independence possible.

Thus, there are objections to be raised at several points of the account given by Miss Larsen. I shall refrain from detailing all of them, but I must note the one really inadequate chapter of the work, that dealing with the period 1815-1844, which offers a very imperfect picture of the political conditions and struggles during those remarkable thirty years. But I must add, also, that in this case Miss Larsen may be partly excused because she has followed the latest and apparently conclusive account of the period by Professor Wilhelm Keilhau (1929), which, in spite of many excellent features, is marred by the author's propensity for paradox and for disagreeing with previous authors. If Miss Larsen had known the important work of Professor Arne Bergsgård on the leader of the first farmers' party, O. G. Ueland, she would have evaded this pitfall.

Oslo, Norway

HALVDAN KOHT

HITLER AND HIS ADMIRALS. By *Anthony Martienssen*. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1949. Pp. xi, 275. \$4.00.)

WHEN Allied troops entered Coburg in April, 1945, they found a group of German historians guarding a massive collection of papers at Schloss Tambach. On examination the collection turned out to be the German naval archives from 1868 to 1945. Mr. Anthony Martienssen has already edited one part of this collection: *The Führer Conferences on Naval Affairs*. In preparation for the present work, he has also made use of the war diaries of the German naval staff, the operations orders of the navy, and the files of Admiral Erich Raeder.

If Raeder had been allowed to have his way, the war would not have begun in 1939. Plan "Z," the approved German naval program, contemplated the construction of 13 battleships, 33 cruisers, 4 carriers, and 267 submarines by 1948. Though weak in carriers, this force would have placed Germany in a favorable naval position in relation to Britain. Unlike Doenitz, who was primarily a submarine expert, Raeder was a blue-water admiral. He fought with all his resources for a balanced fleet which could fight for control of the sea against the British fleet. When Hitler decided upon war in 1939, Raeder had to abandon his dream of a balanced fleet and improvise a strategy without aircraft carriers. As a result the German naval position steadily deteriorated until January, 1943. At that time,

in exasperation at the failure of German surface units to destroy a poorly protected convoy to Russia, Hitler ordered the decommissioning of the surface fleet except for training purposes. This act brought Doenitz to power and the navy henceforth operated as a submarine fleet.

Mr. Martienssen shows that Raeder sometimes exerted a moderating influence on Hitler but that the Führer disliked his reserved manner and professional aloofness. Doenitz was a different type of man. Clever and methodical, he made himself useful to the Führer in a hundred small ways. He was so successful in penetrating the protective ring around the Führer that he supplanted Goering, Himmler, and Bormann in Hitler's esteem. In the end he accepted the empty title of Führer. As the Allied armies were cutting Germany into two parts in 1945, Doenitz was still sending his submarine crews on forlorn missions against enemy shipping.

Doenitz managed to keep his forces fighting longer than any other element in the German armed forces, but he contributed to the German defeat in many ways. He allowed the German submarines to fall behind Allied countermeasures. His really dangerous new type submarines were completed too late to be effective. On a mission to Italy prior to the Allied invasion of Sicily, he irritated the national pride of Italian naval officers to a point where they preferred to surrender their ships to the Allies rather than die in an effort to prevent the invasion.

A number of important new facts emerge from Mr. Martienssen's pages. He shows that Raeder began to plan for an invasion of Britain as early as November, 1939, on the assumption that Hitler might someday suddenly order such an operation. He also shows that Hitler remained extremely sensitive throughout the war toward any Allied threat against Norway. The celebrated daylight dash of the *Scharnhorst* and *Gneisenau* from Brest through the Dover Straits on February 11, 1943, was ordered by Hitler because he feared an invasion of Norway. It must be said that Hitler looked upon the German navy in a realistic manner. To his way of thinking ships were built to be used. He was prepared to face the destruction of the Brest squadron in breaking through the Channel, but he would not leave these ships in a place where they served no strategic purpose.

Belated information also appears in this volume on the "*Athenia* case." At the outset of war in September, 1939, Hitler was determined to "isolate" the Polish affair by conducting the war at sea in accordance with the Hague Convention. The sinking of the *Athenia* by the U-30 was done against orders and came as a distinct surprise to the German naval staff, which had approved of the decision to blame the incident on Churchill. When the U-30 returned to port, its commander, Lieutenant Lemp, was severely reprimanded and his crew sworn to secrecy about the incident.

Perhaps because, like most Britons, Mr. Martienssen instinctively understands the meaning and requirements of sea power, he refrains from calling attention to the German mistake of building a second-rate surface navy twice in the same century. He also refrains from pointing out that in both world wars Germany failed

to concentrate on submarine warfare early enough and with sufficient resources to defeat Britain.

A word of warning may be in order about accepting the Führer conferences at their face value as historical source material. Only by comparing the oratory and special pleadings of these conferences with prior and succeeding operational orders can the true meaning of these words be understood. Speaking of the Führer conferences and the Führer's harangues, Keitel observed: "Things are not eaten as hot as they are cooked."

University of Missouri

H. A. DEWEERD

ITALY IN THE SECOND WORLD WAR: MEMORIES AND DOCUMENTS. By *Pietro Badoglio*. Translated from the Italian by *Muriel Currey*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1948. Pp. x, 234. \$3.50.)

This is a miserable translation of a book which itself makes many false assertions. Without notice to the reader, chapter 1 of *L' Italia nella seconda guerra mondiale: Memorie e documenti* (Milan, 1946) is omitted. It would be nicer to use the term "order of the day" rather than "resolution" in reference to the Grand Council (p. 45, Italian p. 73); more accurate to state "audience" rather than "interview" of Mussolini with the king (pp. 41: 69); correct English to use the word "frondeur" and not "frondist" (pp. 39: 66). The term "Giulia" which alone has no geographical meaning, is listed on page 56 in place of "Emilia" in the original (p. 85). On the same page "the English" is substituted for "the English radio" in the original (p. 86). The phrase of the author, "with luetic complications" is arbitrarily omitted (pp. 39: 66).

Much more serious are the errors which gravely distort the meaning intended by the author. The positive statement in the indicative mood of the Italian (p. 63) becomes "could have" and "would have" in translation (pp. 36-37). The statement in Badoglio's letter to Mussolini "that no violence would be done to him" (p. 72) is freely rendered "that he need not fear for his personal safety" (p. 44). The thought completely miscarries in the clause "to carry out the armistice terms" where the original states "all the conditions of armistice" (pp. 70: 101). Badoglio wrote "confidential communication" (p. 103): the translation substitutes "official communication" (p. 71). On the same page "official" is used in place of the Italian word meaning "certain." The false statement of the author in the original regarding his telegram to General Eisenhower (p. 104) is further falsified by interpolations by the translator (p. 72). (I have published the exact text of this telegram in my article, "The Armistice of Cassibile," *Military Affairs*, XII [Spring, 1948], 33.) The declaration of policy issued by the ministry on April 27, 1944, promised a "constituent and legislative assembly" not a "constituent assembly" (pp. 154: 205). The phrase of the original "obligations imposed upon her by the armistice" seriously miscarries when translated as "all the terms of the armistice" (pp. 171:

226). Whoever wishes to know exactly what Marshal Badoglio wanted to be believed should consult the original.

In the marshal's own writing, however, are many factual statements which are false. It is quite untrue that General Eisenhower stipulated that Badoglio announce the armistice at 8:00 p. m.; or that the Allies advanced their scheduled time for invading the Italian peninsula and declaring the armistice (pp. 73: 104-105). The assertion that the Allies promised a landing in Italy "with fifteen divisions" (pp. 70: 101) is a military absurdity and unsupported by anything except Badoglio's wishful thinking. It is quite untrue that the Allies ever stipulated September 12 as the effective date of the armistice. Marshal Badoglio's emissary, General Giuseppe Castellano, has admitted that the date September 12 was his own conjecture. (*Come firmai l'armistizio di Cassibile* [Milan, 1945], pp. 171-73.) It was Badoglio who refused the projected air-borne operation near Rome, and not Allied Force Headquarters which reneged on a promise (pp. 86: 120).

Despite the errors of translation and of original statement, Badoglio's book gives a self-portrait. It is of a man without conviction. He disapproved Mussolini's war policy but acted as chief of staff until he was forced out. He believed that Victor Emmanuel III should abdicate soon after the removal of Mussolini; he made himself the chief defender of the king's retention of power. He considered his government a bulwark against communism; he brought Palmiro Togliatti into his cabinet. As Mussolini's successor Badoglio seems to have considered his main task to be to make contact with the Allies and save the House of Savoy and the Royal Italian Army. It is difficult to imagine a course of action more suited than that pursued by Marshal Badoglio to achieve the overthrow of both.

Washington, D. C.

HOWARD MCGAW SMYTH

American History

LIFE AND VOYAGES OF LOUIS JOLLIET (1645-1700). By *Jean Delanglez*, S.J., Professor of History, Loyola University, Chicago. [Institute of Jesuit History Publications, Volume VI.] (Chicago: Institute of Jesuit History. 1948. Pp. xi, 289. \$5.00.)

ALMOST exactly the first half of this book discusses the Mississippi journey of Louis Jolliet and its antecedents, with a chapter on the little known about the explorer's early life serving as an introduction. The second half of the volume is taken up with the events of Jolliet's life after 1674, including his journey to Hudson Bay in 1679, his first Labrador voyage of unknown date, his second Labrador trip of 1694, his last years, and his death in 1700. Most of it is a condensation of ten articles written by the same author, nine of which appeared in *Mid-America* and the tenth in the report of the archivist of the province of Quebec for 1943-44.

The author, a thorough student of the exploration period in the history of

New France, has improved his articles by giving in this volume only his conclusions supported by the most pertinent segments of his close reasoning. Even so, this biography of Jolliet is a work for the specialist and not the general reader, and necessarily so. For the historian must turn detective when studying the explorers of New France, and then report to his readers the clues he has followed, the documents he believes of value, his reasons for accepting some evidence and rejecting other, his conjectures, and his circumstantial evidence.

A number of errors of earlier biographers of Jolliet have been exposed by the author; the identity of one or other of the three explorer-fur trader brothers, Louis, Adrien, and Zacharie Jolliet, in certain places and at certain periods, has been clarified; the earliest knowledge of the upper Mississippi River and claims regarding its discovery and navigation prior to Jolliet's trip with Father Marquette are discussed and evaluated; Claude Bernou's part in supplying documentary data on the exploration and knowledge of the river is taken up in some detail; a similar appraisal of Father Claude Dablon's services to explorers and geographers is offered; and textual criticism of several important maps and documents is included. Pages 210-35 constitute a translation of Jolliet's diary during his exploration of Labrador in 1694, slightly abridged from the French original as published by the author in the report of the archivist of the province of Quebec, 1943-44. Appendix A is a modern French document by Jacques Rousseau discussing the possible routes used by Jolliet on his trip to Hudson Bay, with a judgment as to the probable one that was followed.

One error should be pointed out. Médard Chouart is referred to, both in the text and in the index, as "*dit des Groseilliers*," which is equivalent to saying that he was not entitled before the law to be called Des Groseilliers. Actually he was the Sieur des Groseilliers and fully entitled to the name by which he is generally known.

Reading this book leaves one with the desire to know much more about several men: Adrien and Zacharie Jolliet and their explorations and fur-trading ventures about Lake Superior and in the area between the St. Lawrence River and James Bay; Claude Bernou and his relations with many of the explorers of North America, from whom he pilfered geographical data in the process of patronizing their adventures; Hugues Randin, the engineer explorer and map maker; and Jean Baptiste Franquelin, the great cartographer, who planned such extensive explorations in the West. Surely a thorough search in available archives and depositories will sometime reveal much more about these key men than is now known concerning their explorations or geographical knowledge. The plain fact of the matter is that no great amount of searching has been done. This fact was impressed upon me as I went through manuscript collections in Canada, England, and France in search of data on a specific subject, but noting, as one could not fail to do, all the statements and hints regarding the explorers of New France. The field of French exploration has only been scratched. Even La Salle deserves a completely revised biographical study based on all the data that are at hand and

not yet utilized adequately. Father Delanglez has filled in many of the missing or little known parts of Louis Jolliet's career. Let us have similar biographies for many other French explorers.

Minnesota Historical Society

GRACE LEE NUTE

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF BENJAMIN RUSH: HIS "TRAVELS THROUGH LIFE" TOGETHER WITH HIS COMMONPLACE BOOK FOR 1789-1813. Edited with Introduction and Notes by *George W. Corner*. (Princeton: Princeton University Press for American Philosophical Society. 1948. Pp. 399. \$6.00.)

THE longest, and in many ways the best, review of the extremely valuable new edition of the autobiography of Benjamin Rush is to be found in the introduction to the book itself. The editor, George W. Corner, has provided a full account of the history and character of the manuscripts used and of his problems in arrangement and editing. Those interested in the period and field into which the work fits will always be grateful that the task was entrusted by the American Philosophical Society, which now possesses most of the manuscripts involved, to such thoroughly competent hands. With the earlier excellent biography by Nathan Goodman (Philadelphia, 1934) and the letters soon to be published by Mr. L. H. Butterfield, the social historian will at last have adequate coverage of the career of one of the great figures of the early history of the nation.

The autobiography was first printed in a very limited edition in 1905 from a "fair copy" made in 1814, a year after Rush's death, of the manuscript notebooks in which he had, about 1800, written an account of his life to that date. This 1905 edition, authorized by Alexander Biddle, a great grandson in whose possession the Rush manuscripts then were, also contained excerpts from the commonplace book kept by Rush from 1792 to the year of his death, 1813. After Biddle's death the American Philosophical Society acquired eight of the ten notebooks and most of the commonplace books which now appear in this first complete and carefully edited edition. This volume contains also the ninth notebook, which had become separated from the others and is now in the large Rush collection in the possession of the Library Company of Philadelphia. The tenth notebook, in which Rush had provided an account of his own medical history, seems to have been lost or destroyed at some time after his death. There is included, also, an earlier commonplace book for 1789-1792, the manuscript of which belongs to the Library Company, and four valuable appendixes, the chief of which is a summary of Rush's medical theories, which were a matter of great controversy in his lifetime.

This collection of manuscripts not only reveals the personality and character of Rush but are invaluable in their account of medical education in the eighteenth century, of the theories of disease in that period, and of a devoted physician's efforts to improve medical care and hospital management, especially in the period

of the Revolution and in the yellow fever epidemics of the 1790's. Rivalries in the medical profession, the attacks upon Rush by William Cobbett, local and national politics, and the conflict between England and the colonies are all so frankly discussed that the sons of Benjamin Rush, after long consideration, decided against publication of the autobiography—even after preparing the “fair copy” of 1814 for the press, expurgated though it was. Rush's account of his medical training in Scotland and of his travels in England add interest to the autobiography, and his daily comments on persons, events, and ideas make the commonplace books useful.

The insatiable curiosity of the true scientist and the reflections of an eighteenth century philosopher are shown constantly in comments, questions, and comparisons. For example, there is a series of questions addressed to an explorer of the American West on the personal and medical habits of the Indians. There is also a delightful comparison of the French character with that of the same aborigines. The Revolutionary period has a careful and objective analysis of the traits of character and background that caused men to be Tories and a fine penetrating sketch of each of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. These are but a few of the interesting features of the book which, without a dull page, causes the generation of Benjamin Rush to live again.

University of Minnesota

ALICE FELT TYLER

GOLD IS THE CORNERSTONE. By *John Walton Caughey*. [Chronicles of California.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1948. Pp. xvi, 321. \$4.00.)

LAND IN CALIFORNIA: THE STORY OF MISSION LANDS, RANCHOS, SQUATTERS, MINING CLAIMS, RAILROAD GRANTS, LAND SCRIP, HOMESTEADS. By *W. W. Robinson*. [Chronicles of California.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1948. Pp. xiii, 291. \$4.00.)

CALIFORNIA PICTORIAL: A HISTORY IN CONTEMPORARY PICTURES, 1786 TO 1859, WITH DESCRIPTIVE NOTES ON PICTURES AND ARTISTS. By *Jeanne Van Nostrand* and *Edith M. Coulter*. [Chronicles of California.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1948. Pp. ix, 161. \$10.00.)

THESE three volumes under the general editorship of Herbert E. Bolton and John W. Caughey have been issued in connection with California's centennial celebrations commemorating the discovery of gold and statehood. Sound in scholarship, well written, and attractive in appearance, they are a worthy contribution to that state's picturesque history.

In *Gold is the Cornerstone* Professor Caughey mines in ground that has been worked many times. He has come up with a good run of color in the form of a fresh treatment of the major phases of the gold era—the discovery, the spread of the news, the Gold Rush, and life in the diggings; particular attention has been

paid to economic, political, social, and cultural results. The book is characterized by an excellent style, factual accuracy, and thoughtful generalizations. There are no specific footnote references, but the critical bibliography lists the best of the many original sources and secondary accounts. There are no maps, although one showing the various mining camps would have been helpful to those of us who are not familiar with the details of local geography. The book ends appropriately with a discussion of cultural by-products and an "assay." It is pointed out that, thanks to gold, California was spared some of the cultural poverty that normally characterizes frontier communities. There, the golden alchemy produced almost over night "banks and business houses, farms and factories, courts and legislatures," and also performed "like miracles in the realm of things cultural." It is suggested that to this auriferous origin may also be traced the self-confidence of today's Californians, a people "who are in the habit of having great expectations . . . and seeing them come true." Then follows the comment that "California appears to be the only place where a rush for gold was made to serve as the base for an ever-widening superstructure of attainment." May a Coloradan, mindful of an approaching centennial in honor of the Fifty-niners who scrawled "Pikes Peak or Bust" on their wagons, be permitted to raise a questioning eyebrow at this statement?

W. W. Robinson's *Land in California* traces land ownership and occupancy through the successive stages of Indian possession, Spanish-Mexican missions, pueblos, and ranchos, and Anglo-American squatters, mining claims, railroad grants, homesteads, land scrip, town sites, and title insurance. Obviously in a book of this size a subject so vast has not been exhausted. But it has been competently surveyed. Generalizations and trends have been illustrated by specific cases taken mainly from the bay area and the Los Angeles dominion. To those familiar with these regions the details will be fascinating; others will readily appreciate their importance. The social significance of land tenure is so apparent that it could hardly be ignored in any book on that general subject. Of course it appears in this one, but it is not stressed. One might wish that more attention had been given to speculative holdings—the situation, for example, which suggested to Henry George about 1869 his solution for the paradox of progress and poverty; nor is there much about water in relation to the use and value of the land. The map (p. 68) showing private land claims as of 1846 is useful in giving a general impression as to the location and extent of the Spanish and Mexican grants. Among the illustrations are reproductions of *diseños* or rough contemporary maps of certain of the early grants, and facsimiles of pertinent documents. The bibliography calls attention to the richness of the available source material on this important phase of the development of California and suggests the possibility of similar studies for other states.

California Pictorial by Jeanne Van Nostrand and Edith M. Coulter contains reproductions of sixty-nine paintings, engravings, lithographs, and drawings of scenes in or en route to the land of romance and gold between 1786 and 1859.

Ten are in full color. Many of the originals are rare and some, especially those from private collections, have been here reproduced for the first time. Several of the pictures or sketches were made by artists or naturalists who accompanied such official expeditions as those of La Pérouse (1786), Malaspina (1791), Vancouver (1791-94), Krusenstern (1806), Beechey (1826-27), and Emory (1846). For each of the plates there is a brief note describing the picture and the artist. The reproductions are excellent, although a few of the pictures seem drab and dull; some of the originals were, as the compilers point out, "blackened and discolored with age." As historical records these contemporary pictures and sketches are of great value; but one wonders now and then to what extent the artist idealized the scene or left out what did not interest him or added some detail for artistic effect. A case in point appears in two lithographs of Monterey (plates 18, 19) made, we are told "by the same artist and on the same occasion." Even after allowance has been made for the change in the position of the unknown artist, the details seem not to be identical. But the pictures give a good impression of the time and place. Heavy paper, large pages, wide margins, attractive typography, and skillful reproductions of the originals, all combine to make this a charming memento of Old California.

University of Colorado

COLIN B. GOODYKOONTZ

IMPROVEMENT OF COMMUNICATION WITH THE PACIFIC COAST
AS AN ISSUE IN AMERICAN POLITICS, 1783-1864. By *Robert R. Russel*, Professor of History, Western Michigan College, Kalamazoo, Michigan. (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press. 1948. Pp. viii, 332. \$3.75.)

ANYONE whose research has led him into government documents and the *Congressional Globe* will have due appreciation for the vast amount of time and effort that has gone into this book. Tracing a few bills through the devious paths of congressional legislation is a task; Professor Russel has traced scores of them, on many subjects, and has summarized the arguments, the motives, and the results. Measures concerning isthmian transits by road, railroad, and canal, and problems regarding mail service, wagon roads, and railroads in the American West are the principal problems discussed.

The work is well done. On the first page there is Captain "Thomas" Cook instead of "James," but such slips are rare. The presentation is objective, conclusions are well considered, and the facts fully documented.

The proposed Nicaraguan canal and the Tehuantepec railroad project are given enlightened treatments, with new information presented. The good brief discussion of the Gadsden Purchase explains the circumstances and factors that affected the negotiations and the ratification of the treaty. In the chapter on "First Links," Professor Russel describes the railroads which various states projected and built with the object of influencing the route of the transcontinental railroad to the Pacific. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill discussion follows in general the Hodder

and Malin thesis, and gives the various steps toward organization of Nebraska that were taken before the question became involved in the slavery issue.

The chapter "The Pacific Railway Surveys" contains an excellent summary of the routes and the surveying, the personal and sectional biases involved, and an analysis of the reports. The author makes the interesting comment that "the publication of the reports cost twice as much as the actual surveying" (p. 186). The estimated mileages of the surveys show some rather strange comparisons with the mileages of the actual railroads when subsequently built (p. 180).

A general picture of shifting railroad objectives is thus summarized:

Trade with Asia was the principal talking point of Asa Whitney and other early Pacific railroad enthusiasts. After 1849 the emphasis was upon the California trade and a potential trade with Oregon . . . Before the Civil War ended it was apparent . . . that the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountain region were going to be settled at break-neck speed . . . The emphasis of the projectors of transcontinental railways shifted accordingly from most suitable termini and "shortest and most practicable" routes to the "inland empires" their roads would preempt and develop.

After the early completion of a transcontinental railway on American soil was assured, the American people lost interest in isthmian projects. That interest revived only when, in a different mood, shippers came to seek water competition to bring down the freight rates on Pacific railways . . . [p. 324].

Four helpful maps and an index are provided.

Denver, Colorado

LEROY R. HAFEN

LINCOLN AND THE WAR GOVERNORS. By *William B. Hesseltine*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1948. Pp. x, 405, xxii. \$4.50.)

IN this volume Professor Hesseltine, one of our leading authorities on the Civil War, has treated a significant, hitherto neglected aspect of that grim American tragedy—the contest between national centralization and states' rights. More particularly, his book concerns the absorbing subject of the personal and political relations between President Lincoln and the various governors of the Northern and loyal border states.

The governors with whom Lincoln was forced to deal were jealous guardians of the prerogatives of their states, were instilled with an egotistical sense of their own importance, and possessed of vast power as commanders-in-chief of their state militias. Some exerted wide influence by virtue of their positions in the political parties of their respective bailiwicks. Congress enhanced the power of the governors when it entrusted them with the task of recruiting volunteers. It required all the President's well-known tact and patience to cajole or conciliate them.

From an impressive number of books, articles, newspapers, and manuscripts Professor Hesseltine has fashioned a volume which will claim a permanent place on the shelf of discriminating Lincoln works. Conspicuously absent from the

sources consulted, however, are the papers of two of New York's three "War Governors," Edwin D. Morgan and Horatio Seymour. The Morgan manuscripts are deposited in the New York State Library at Albany and the Seymour letters are in the New-York Historical Society.

With some of Professor Hesselstine's major interpretations the reviewer is unable to agree.

"In the end," the author writes in his preface, "Abraham Lincoln had control of the Republican Party . . ." Considering the trouble which dissident leaders like Henry Winter Davis and Ben Wade were giving the President when Booth's bullet struck him down, this conclusion might well be questioned.

In chapter v, "The Governors Elect Lincoln," the author declares: "In the end the governors won their state campaigns [in 1860], and their combined successes put Abraham Lincoln in the White House" (p. 74). Although the national Republican party of 1860 was, indeed, "a coalition of state parties" (p. 74), it would seem an oversimplification to ascribe his election only to "the governors." None of the governors or governors-to-be held undisputed sway in their states; each controlled only one faction of his party. In New York, with the largest electoral vote, the anti-Morgan wing of the Republican party, led by Horace Greeley and William Cullen Bryant, supported Lincoln following his nomination as standard-bearer quite as ardently as the Seward-Weed group, with whom Governor Morgan was affiliated. In Pennsylvania, which cast the second largest electoral vote, the opposition to Governor-to-be Andrew G. Curtin, headed by Curtin's arch foe Senator Simon Cameron, aided Lincoln as vigorously as did the Curtinites. In Ohio, third state in the number of electoral votes, the Republicans were split three ways among the adherents of Governor Salmon P. Chase, Senator Ben Wade, and Supreme Court Justice John McLean—and all of those strange bedfellows fell into line for Lincoln. In Indiana, an almost indispensable "doubtful" state which the Democrats had carried in 1856, Lincoln received help not only from Governor-to-be Oliver P. Morton, but also from Caleb B. Smith and Congressman Schuyler Colfax. In Illinois, another of the "doubtfuls," Governor Richard Yates's disciples were not alone in rolling up ballots for Old Abe, its favorite son; for Republican State Chairman Norman B. Judd and Judge David Davis (fierce rivals for party leadership) were together with Yates in backing Lincoln. In a word, Lincoln was able to win a majority in the electoral college through the support of all factions of the loosely organized Republican party, whether or not the factions were affiliated with the followings of "the governors."

Another point on which the reviewer differs with Professor Hesselstine appears in chapter xviii, "The Death of States' Rights." The author concludes: "But states' rights were dead. Their death was clear in January, 1865, as the legislatures met and the governors, old and new, spoke again . . ." (p. 386). Since states' rights continued as a persistent force in the decades following the Civil War—in fact, northern Republicans as well as southern Democrats preach the doc-

trine to this day—such a conclusion is hardly tenable. In 1949 the idea is at least a very live ghost.

Throughout Professor Hesselstine's volume appear marks of hasty proofreading and faulty checking of notes. There is an unwarrantably large number of inaccurate citations of names and titles. "William M." Dayton (p. 57) should read "William L." "Henry J." Carman (p. 397) ought to be "Harry J." Arthur C. Cole's well-known article, "Lincoln's Election an Immediate Menace to Slavery in the States?" *American Historical Review*, XXXVI, 740-67, is given as "Was Lincoln's Education a Threat to the South?" (p. 99 n.). Thomas M. Pitkin's doctoral dissertation at Western Reserve University, "The Tariff and the Early Republican Party," is cited as "Pennsylvania and the Tariff." (p. 107 n.). Kenneth M. Stamp's dissertation, prepared at the University of Wisconsin, appears as "Indiana Politics during the Civil War" on page 87, note; whereas it is printed as "Indiana in the Civil War" on page 404.

Students of Lincoln and the Civil War may question some of Professor Hesselstine's conclusions. But they are indebted to him for an arresting interpretation of a basic issue in American history.

Columbia University

REINHARD H. LUTHIN

UNCOLLECTED WORKS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN: HIS LETTERS, ADDRESSES, AND OTHER PAPERS. Assembled and Annotated by *Rufus Rockwell Wilson*. Assisted by other Lincoln scholars. With Introduction by George Fort Milton. Volume II, 1841-1845. (Elmira: Primavera Press. 1948. Pp. 693. \$6.00.)

THERE is at present no satisfactorily complete edition of Lincoln's writings. The basic compilation is still the twelve-volume Nicolay and Hay set (1905), misleadingly titled *Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln*, but it must be supplemented by later, partial collections, edited by Gilbert A. Tracy, Paul M. Angle, and others, and by unpublished Lincoln materials. Projected in five volumes, of which the first two have been published, Dr. Rufus Rockwell Wilson's *Uncollected Works of Abraham Lincoln* is an effort "to assemble and annotate such letters, speeches and other papers . . . as have come to light since 1905."

The present volume, covering the years 1841-1845, contains some three hundred Lincoln items of varying authenticity and importance. Dr. Wilson, who was assisted by the late John Henry Cramer, has uncovered surprisingly little personal correspondence of Lincoln, and the few such letters included here have for the most part been previously published. This fact, however, is not always acknowledged in the present work.

A good number of items included might more properly be considered notes for a Lincoln biography than writings of Lincoln. Dr. Wilson quotes the *Sangamo Journal's* account of a legislative debate concerning the Peoria ferry; Lincoln is

mentioned but once (p. 39: "... Lincoln ... opposed the reference."). It is difficult to ascertain why such quotations are considered to belong among Lincoln's works.

This volume is largely composed of legal documents (mostly drawn from the Herndon-Weik Collection) pertaining to cases in which Lincoln had some interest. Apparently the effort has been made to include every scrap in Lincoln's handwriting, regardless of its significance, and Dr. Wilson's compilation is certainly the most complete of its kind. The great majority of the documents included, however, are the purely formal pleadings, replications, demurrers, praecipes, etc., which reveal next to nothing about Lincoln except that he occasionally misspelled such words as "description."

Many of these legal documents are with questionable propriety included among Lincoln's writings. Dr. Wilson prints a court decree to which Lincoln's contribution was the insertion of one letter, "A" (p. 98). The twelve-page grocery account of one B. C. Johnson contains no word written by Lincoln, but its importance under any circumstances would be questionable (pp. 322-33). To eighteen pages of depositions (pp. 503 ff.) Lincoln's sole contribution was eight words of correction. One could prolong such a list almost indefinitely.

The general editorial introductions are somewhat mawkish, and the preliminary chronology inaccurate. (There are at least eight mistaken or dubious statements in the chronology for 1841 and 1842 alone.) Dr. Wilson's comments on the individual legal cases are more helpful, though one presumes that a Lincoln specialist would already know the information here presented and one doubts whether the amateur will read this volume anyway. In what seems to this reviewer a mistaken attempt to lend historical significance to rather unimportant materials, the editor has presented "at each point of time of a local suit or other unexciting occurrence, the contemporaneous developments that day, week or month elsewhere in Illinois, the United States or the world" (p. 10). One learns, for instance (p. 346), that on the day Lincoln signed an unimportant formal affidavit of a routine nature Longfellow was writing his *Poems of Slavery* and Charles Darwin had "settled in the secluded village of Down."

In short, Dr. Wilson's *Uncollected Works of Abraham Lincoln* is a vast and indigestible jumble, which George Fort Milton correctly describes as composed of "full, partial and sometimes 'iffy' Lincolniana." For a definitive compilation of Lincoln's writings, one must wait for the scholarly edition now being completed by the Abraham Lincoln Association.

Columbia University

DAVID DONALD

LINCOLN'S SECRETARY: A BIOGRAPHY OF JOHN G. NICOLAY. By Helen Nicolay. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1949. Pp. 363. \$5.00.)

HAPPILY preserved on a folded sheet of blue-lined paper is a document which

reads: "Pursuant to the authority vested in me by the second Section of the Act of Congress of the third of March 1857, I hereby appoint John G. Nicolay, of Illinois, Private Secretary to the President of the United States"; it is signed "Abraham Lincoln" and is dated at "Washington 4th March 1861." It is believed to record the first official act of the administration of an obscure man from the Middle West. For Mr. Nicolay it implied a change in other relationships but no change in his confidential and intimate relationship with his chief. He had been, since the previous summer, private secretary first to a candidate, thereafter to the President-elect; he would continue to perform a not dissimilar function the rest of his own life, uninterrupted by the death of Mr. Lincoln. It was for him substantially a permanent assignment.

Obviously, then, it is high time that so remarkable a career should be the subject of a book, and it is especially fortunate that Helen Nicolay should herself present it. For *Lincoln's Secretary* is essentially a presentation. Most of the words are the words of John George Nicolay himself, in memorandums carefully written in the White House, where he was, throughout the war, a resident, and in the charming, fresh, and intimate letters which he sent, with a regularity which was evidence, perhaps, of ardor to his betrothed Thenera Bates, who waited for him and for them back in Pike County's Pittsfield. These products of a long engagement endow the text with the strength of contemporaneity and liveliness, and change what might otherwise have been appreciation, merely, into a new source and a new requirement.

As the title suggests, the greater part of the book is concentrated on the Lincoln experience, and, as might be presumed, the secretary is sometimes lost in the overwhelming personality of the President. If, for this reason, the student of historiography should be disposed to lament the relatively little space devoted to Mr. Nicolay's part in the preparation of *Abraham Lincoln: A History*, he may comfort himself with the knowledge that the Nicolay Papers are now in the Library of Congress and that the correspondence which that monumental undertaking involved is not only rich and full but already available to him and to his colleagues. For this also, the public permanently is indebted to Miss Nicolay's generosity.

Her father's story is told with remarkable objectivity. Naturally the portrait which emerges from these pages is altogether admirable and appealing, but there is no impression that authenticity has been impaired for sentiment's sake. John George Nicolay was fiercely a partisan but this characteristic increased rather than diminished his competence for his post, and he was scrupulously honest with everyone, including his occasionally introspective self. If there are lapses of strictest accuracy in this account, they are few and inconspicuous and unimportant. The captious might complain because Miss Nicolay has repeated a common error in declaring that Mary Lincoln was in the party of the President-elect which departed from Springfield on the morning of February 11, 1861, whereas in fact that temperamental lady refused for a time to budge and did not catch up with

what was popularly called "the cortege" until the following day, when it had reached Indianapolis. A more serious criticism can be leveled at the index, which is skimpy, uninformative, and apparently the work of a publishers' hack, who has, for example, omitted a reference to Lord Lyons (p. 117), bestowed on Chief Justice Taney (p. 362) a middle initial once removed from the one he actually bore, and indolently been contented with making numerous incomplete and inadequate entries. But these shortcomings are, in terms of the achievement, of minor consequence. The book itself deserves to be accepted as an animate contribution to our knowledge of a stirring period.

Washington, D. C.

DAVID C. MEARNES

ROCK OF CHICKAMAUGA: THE LIFE OF GENERAL GEORGE H. THOMAS. By *Freeman Cleaves*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1948. Pp. xi, 328. \$3.75.)

FREEMAN Cleaves seems to be attracted by the less exciting figures of American military history. For, after producing a book on William Henry Harrison, he has now turned out a biography of the competent but austere Civil War commander, George H. Thomas.

Though not a campus historian (he is an editor of the *Financial World*), Mr. Cleaves knows his historical method. He has used a variety of printed sources—the *Official Records*, of course, the previous Thomas biographies, regimental histories and books of reminiscence, and some contemporary newspapers. He has also dipped into manuscript collections, including those in the National Archives, a research center still too frequently ignored by historians. The result is a competent, well-documented volume. Cleaves writes well; and if his narrative sometimes lacks color, so did General Thomas.

As one would expect, the book deals largely with military operations in the Civil War. Thomas' Virginia background, his West Point days, his early Army service in Florida, Mexico, and the West, and his record during Reconstruction are assigned about a quarter of the space. The rest goes to the Civil War campaigns. In this division, Reconstruction suffers most; and the Reconstruction chapter is by all odds the weakest in the book. This is a pity, for here the author had a chance to make a substantial addition to historical knowledge.

On the whole, the Civil War chapters are adequate, and the author's judgments sound. The volume would have been more valuable had there been more analysis. But, as Civil War biographies go, this is a good one. It does not change our view of Thomas very much; but it does add new material to the old and gives present-day readers an opportunity to become acquainted with one of the ablest Union generals.

There has been no biography of Thomas for a half century. Now we have two at once: Cleaves's book, and one by Richard O'Connor, published by Prentice-Hall. It is too bad that this should be so, for O'Connor and Cleaves differ little

in approach, treatment, and conclusions. This duplication of effort is all too common in historical work, and the profession should try to eliminate some of it by devising an improved system of listing works in progress by historians in and out of academic posts.

Of the two Thomas biographies, O'Connor's makes slightly better reading, but Cleaves's is on the whole the better from the historian's point of view.

The University of Oklahoma Press has done a splendid job of bookmaking with the Cleaves volume.

University of Wisconsin

FRED HARVEY HARRINGTON

JOSEPH BENSON FORAKER: AN UNCOMPROMISING REPUBLICAN.

By *Everett Walters*, Department of History, Ohio State University. [Ohio Governors Series, Volume I.] (Columbus: Ohio History Press for Ohio State Archaeological and History Society. 1948. Pp. xiii, 315. \$3.50.)

A BIOGRAPHY of Senator Joseph B. Foraker of Ohio is perhaps justified to illustrate the political futility and corrupt statesmanship that characterized so much of the Gilded Age. So devoid was Ohio politics of a larger issue that as late as 1887 Foraker could win "soaring popularity" despite a mediocre record as governor by his "bloody shirt" oratory and his defiance of President Cleveland's conciliatory order to restore the captured Confederate flags. "No rebel flags will be surrendered while I am governor," was the phrase that delighted his numerous followers. Ignoring the basic unrest of his day which distressed the farmer and laborer, Foraker built himself a safe ladder to success by interminable political deals, outsmarting the Sherman faction in state politics, and finally (after a struggle) allying himself with Mark Hanna, whose interest in urban utility corporations drew both together. A highly paid counsel for Standard Oil and numerous other such employments (which he thought were not irreconcilable with his offices as governor and United States senator), he fought the progressive measures of Theodore Roosevelt, rallying the Old Guard against the attempts of government to regulate the railroads and protect the consumer from food adulteration. In Ohio, he denounced the Democrats as communists for aiding labor and resisted the reform influences of Tom Johnson of Cleveland and Golden Rule Jones of Toledo. An imperialist, though not as extreme as certain of his colleagues in the Senate, he was among the first to demand war upon Spain and his draft of an organic law for Puerto Rico reflected the current dream of an American empire.

Foraker was not without his virtues—charitable in extending emergency aid when needed, sympathetic to the plight of the Negro, and generous with his gift of oratory. The Hearst disclosures regarding his tie with Standard Oil while a senator, so destructive of his remaining reputation, may perhaps be explained away by the fact that so many of his colleagues were in the same respectable business of serving two masters. His amazing defense of the colored troops at Brownsville, "the American Dreyfus case," against the inconclusive charges of murder

might easily restore his reputation to posterity were the facts of his life such as to suggest honest motives—though they may have been so in this instance.

Professor Everett Walters has maintained an unusual degree of objectivity in dealing with his unpromising hero, which may tantalize the reader who expects a few moral judgments and a fuller evaluation of the man and his times. The story of the political feuds of Ohio, the bitter regional factions, the local kingmakers, and the subtle maneuvers of the political professionals is told well and with the most meticulous detail. As far as the salient facts of Foraker's career are concerned, the only aspect missing is a fresh, detailed account of the Brownsville riot, evaluating the tremendous official materials available, and perhaps the Standard Oil incident, to which little has been added. The value of this otherwise scholarly account would have been enhanced by a more analytical approach and a broader national canvas integrating Foraker's career with the post-Civil War industrialism and the economic maladjustments of that age. There is some profit in exploring the futile world of Joseph G. Foraker which gave birth to the "Ohio Gang."

Western Reserve University

HARVEY WISH

THE YOUNG HENRY ADAMS. By *Ernest Samuels*. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1948. Pp. xvi, 378. \$4.50.)

MANY a prominent man prevented, or certainly discouraged, a biography by writing an autobiography. When the autobiography is one of the most notable autobiographies in the English language, as *The Education of Henry Adams* surely is, the difficulties of a biographer are multiplied many times. This fact may help to explain why none of the full-length biographies rumored during the past generation has been carried to completion. The single published biography by James Truslow Adams only purports to be a sketch and does not furnish what is needed. More valuable is the biographical introduction in Harold Dean Cater's *Henry Adams and His Friends*, which presented for the first time much information, especially about the relations of Adams and his most intimate friends in the latter portion of his life. The most valuable and penetrating analysis of Henry Adams is the brief essay of Carl Becker, "Henry Adams Once More." That an intensive and complete biography will be written, that studies of him will appear for generations to come, appears to be certain. Sensitive, thwarted, egotistical, snobbish, prejudiced, and lacking in certain types of strength, he is nonetheless a key figure in the history of American culture. With a complex intellectual power unsurpassed by any yet produced in America, and possessing rare literary artistry, he participated in, and contributed to, the movements of thought which dominated the latter part of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth. Professor Commager's statement that Henry Adams standing at the grave in Monticello is the most pregnant problem in American history, might well be modified to Henry Adams writing the history of the American mind.

Mr. Ernest Samuels modestly states in his preface that he has "not aimed at a definite or complete biography of the earlier Henry Adams but [has] desired rather to provide a coherent body of fact with a modicum of interpretation which may be useful to the critical reader of Adams' major writings." He also announces his intention of reconstructing the story of the young Henry Adams from contemporary materials and without the discoloration of the ironic hindsight of *The Education*. It should be said at once that Mr. Samuels has succeeded in what he set out to do. Resolutely turning his back on the brilliant autobiography he has clearly and ably traced the experiences of Henry Adams down to 1877, when Adams left Harvard and the academic world. To do this he has used the large number of letters from and to Adams published in half a dozen volumes and in many widely scattered articles, letters of contemporaries appearing in biographies, newspapers, magazines, the printed records of Harvard University, and in a very few cases manuscript sources. Deliberately, certain parts of Adams' life are not included. There is, for instance, only an exceedingly brief reference to Adams' married life. When a complete biography is written that problem will have to be confronted and considered at some length.

The young man emerging from this account differs significantly from the young hero who occupies about the same number of pages in *The Education*. He is, following the interpretation of Becker, avid for political power yet ignorant of how to attain it, and not temperamentally able to grasp it. There is a detailed account of his unsuccessful career as a secret newspaper correspondent in England during the Civil War, an episode dismissed in a single paragraph in *The Education*. There are precise details of his attempts at political maneuvering in the depressing postwar period. There are also clearly assembled many facts illustrating his activities as editor of the *North American Review*. Professional historians will be grateful for the space given to the manner in which Adams prepared for his work as teacher and writer of history.

Although the partial biography of Mr. Samuels is accurate and detailed where the autobiography is distorted and incomplete, *The Education* must still be used but for the right purpose. If its account of the young Adams is historically untrustworthy, it offers rich material for the study of the mind of the mature Adams. Readers will also resort to it for the sheer joy of its literary art. It is no disparagement of the straightforward and competent writing of Mr. Samuels to say that the biography does not approach the literary art of the autobiography.

University of Washington

W. STULL HOLT

PILGRIMS IN A NEW LAND. By Lee M. Friedman. (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America. 1948. Pp. xii, 471. \$4.00.)

Mr. Friedman has brought together in this volume a number of essays and biographical sketches which describe the contributions of Jews to American history, culture, economics, and other aspects of our national life. The biographical

sketches extend from that of Aaron Lopez, a prosperous merchant in colonial Rhode Island to Isaac Gilman, who, although an Orthodox Jew, built two Christian churches, one for Protestants and another for Catholics, in the little Vermont town which bears his name. Surprisingly the author omits any account of the remarkable career of Judah Tuoro, first at Newport, Rhode Island, and later at New Orleans and does not refer in his bibliography to the life of Tuoro by Leon Huhner or to the several other writings of Huhner about the Jews in America.

The author recounts a rather remarkable incident involving Aaron Lopez. In 1740 the British Parliament passed an act providing for the naturalization of foreigners residing in the British colonies. Lopez, who was born in Portugal, had settled in Newport in 1752 and soon became an outstanding merchant. In 1761 he applied to the Superior Court at Newport to be naturalized under the Act of 1740. Lopez's petition was rejected by the court on the ground that it "was inconsistent with the first principles upon which the colony was founded." Lopez then turned to Massachusetts where, after a brief residence of one month, he was granted naturalization. Shades of John Winthrop and Roger Williams!

The author takes occasion to modify the romanticized story of Haym Salomon in relation to his activities in the financing of the American Revolution. Contrary to popular belief that Salomon advanced large sums to the government, the author holds to the view that Salomon's activities were chiefly those of a broker to the office of finance in selling drafts for the account of the government and accounting for the proceeds.

An interesting chapter describes the influence of the Jewish immigrant upon the American language. Beginning in the 1890's large numbers of Jews from Eastern and Central Europe crowded in the ghettos of cities on the Atlantic seaboard. They brought with them their spoken language, Yiddish, and in a short time expressions of Yiddish origin found their way into the American language. Such common slang expressions as "I'm telling you," "It's all right by me," "O Yeah!" "I should worry," "You're telling me," "Was his face red," and "It shouldn't happen to a dog" are of Yiddish derivation.

Better known are the author's descriptions of the contributions of Jews to American economic life. Accounts are given of the Jews as commercial travelers, of their activities in the clothing and building industry, and of their leading part in the moving picture industry.

Mr. Friedman's style is in general attractive and frequently vivid and striking. The inclusion of historical introductions to some of the essays adds to the interest of the volume.

City College of New York

NELSON P. MEAD

THE MOVEMENT TO AMERICANIZE THE IMMIGRANT. By *Edward George Hartmann*. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, No. 545.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1948. Pp. 333. \$4.00.)

EDWARD George Hartmann's discussion of the movement "to Americanize the immigrant" is a tolerant and even a patient review of the efforts made in the early part of the century to "accelerate" the assimilation of the vast new immigration.

The book consists of ten chapters, in the course of which are outlined, with notable accuracy, the "Americanization" programs of civic and social welfare organizations, the activities of government agencies (chiefly state and community departments of education), the influence of the first European war upon the movement, and the postwar "Americanization" activities up to the year 1921, when the whole movement is conceded to have died, in part a natural death and in part a death hastened legislatively by restricting immigration.

While Hartmann obviously sees all the deficiencies of a movement often dominated by the objective of protecting Americans from vast unassimilated groups, and often directed by well-meaning but limited social workers and minor government officials more experienced in case work than in envisaging a problem of tremendous national, and international, importance, he also understands that the problem was insoluble by any swift or wholesale method. He recognizes that attempts even to achieve the minimum objectives of teaching immigrants English and giving them an opportunity to prepare for the legal requirements of American citizenship, were not to be despised. Knowledge of the English language and acquisition of American citizenship do not constitute assimilation, but assimilation is more difficult without them.

Hartmann salutes as one of the better results of the "Americanization" movement the stimulation of governmental interest. But government followed; it did not lead. Government merely helped to deal by piecemeal methods with the tragic results of a complete lack of an initial governmental policy that would provide for the "Americanization" of the immigrants the government had admitted in huge numbers to fill the ranks of unskilled labor. What was needed, before the immigrants ever arrived to fill the ranks of workers in mines and subways was a *precedent* governmental policy to settle some of the immigrants on the land and to provide means by which immigrants in industrial communities could acquire what is proudly called "the American standard of living."

So long as there is governmental evasion of the problem and so long as some parts of organized labor support restriction, on self-protective grounds, there can be no genuine Americanization policy, whether the numbers coming are small or great. A long range American policy must be based not only on our industrial needs but also upon this country's traditional destiny of offering asylum to those that need it and assuring to all those that enter opportunity to realize the freedoms that are supposed to be the right of all that dwell here. Read in the light of

this ideal, Hartmann's volume shows how far short the actuality has been and remains.

Westbrook, Connecticut

ESTHER EVERETT LAPE

LIBERTY AGAINST GOVERNMENT: THE RISE, FLOWERING, AND DECLINE OF A FAMOUS JURIDICAL CONCEPT. By *Edward S. Corwin*. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1948. Pp. xiii, 210. \$3.00.)

How quickly times change! For many years and until a decade or so ago the burning legal question for laymen was the validity of social welfare legislation as tested by constitutional restrictions, particularly by the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution, which forbade the states to take property without "due process of law." Then the New Deal Supreme Court took over. Now that issue seems to belong to an ancient world.

Professor Corwin has written an excellent, readable, and brief account of the judicial theory of a "higher law" by which judges avoided the enforcement of statutes which they found particularly offensive. The Roman and English courts and commentators had used such expressions as "common right and reason," "law fundamental," and "natural liberty," but courts of our country had a handier weapon, the due process clauses of their respective constitutions. Traditionally, due process had meant fair and proper judicial proceedings: parties, particularly defendants in public prosecutions, should have trial by jury, confrontation and cross-examination of witnesses, and similar safeguards. In a number of cases before the Civil War, the state courts, notably the Court of Appeals of New York in *Wynehamer v. State*, 13 N. Y. 378 (1856), extended the concept of due process to forbid legislation of which the substantive content was deemed confiscatory in character, irrespective of the propriety and fairness of the judicial proceedings by which the statute was enforced. The Civil War, and its legal aftermath, the Fourteenth Amendment, launched the Supreme Court of the United States upon this same doctrine.

The Supreme Court had long recognized the existence of the "police power," that is, the authority of legislatures to correct social evils, to establish rates, and generally to enact measures for the protection and benefit of society despite the fact that freedom of contract was restricted or the value of property adversely affected. So the question was whether a statute was confiscatory or a legitimate exercise of the police power. Judges seemed extremely apt to decide this question according to their views of the merits of the statute. Being lawyers who had achieved eminence in a society of capitalism and "rugged individualism," they were not so prone as social workers and legislators to see the need of such legislation. Many a reform measure was held unconstitutional. Professor Corwin, with great clarity, traces the fate of the police power, not only case by case within the court but also with bar associations and commentators.

Suddenly, in March, 1937, the court capitulated. Although Professor Corwin

does not say so, the surrender was brought about by President Roosevelt's "packing plan." Originally the members of the court perhaps planned a strategic retreat. But President Roosevelt was re-elected and the Old Deal court, elderly in 1933, could not and did not last much beyond 1937. The new appointees were enthusiastic believers in social welfare legislation. No longer were such statutes found to take property without due process of law. The issue was dead.

Professor Corwin does not make entirely clear the role of the Fourteenth Amendment under the New Deal court. That court is fully as eager as its predecessors to enforce its social views by any reasonably tenable theory, and it, too, has found in the Fourteenth Amendment a useful tool. Recently the court has greatly developed the theory that the due process clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment restrict the states not only as to due process but in all the ways in which Congress is restricted by the "Bill of Rights," the first ten amendments to the Constitution. On this theory the court has undertaken the regulation of local picketing, the activities of Jehovah's Witnesses, "released time" in public schools, and the like.

Professor Corwin has brilliantly illuminated one important phase of the subject of judicial review. He has not purported to do more, except perhaps in giving his book as its primary title the phrase "Liberty against Government." There is a possible danger that the reader may think that what Professor Corwin describes is the only problem. Other related problems deserve equally able scrutiny. One of these is the refusal of the court to permit more than a very narrow scope to judicial review of the findings and decisions of public officials, despite the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment which is applicable to the federal government. Another problem is the readiness of the court to hold state legislation unconstitutional on the ground of conflict with the commerce clause. Certainly local self-government has been reduced and an extremely numerous and powerful central officialdom has come into being. Perhaps economic developments made this inevitable in any event. Undoubtedly the judges have been motivated by sincere devotion to their varying concepts of liberty. Whether the net result has been an effective contribution to liberty is a question that should receive profound study.

New York City

C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS

ALBUM OF AMERICAN HISTORY. Edited by *James Truslow Adams, et al.*, Volume IV, END OF AN ERA. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1948. Pp. xiii, 385. \$7.50.)

WITH the publication of this handsome book the editors bring to an end not only an era but a provocative project as well. Their plan, as James Truslow Adams states in his foreword, is "to tell primarily by means of pictures the story of the United States from 1492 to 1917." The present volume, the fourth and last in the series, begins with a picture of a Republican, between the shafts of a buggy, paying off an election bet to a supporter of Cleveland in 1892. It ends with several

photographs of the military actions that placed Cantigny and Belleau Wood in the national memory.

It is the quarter of a century intervening between the events thus depicted that the editors set out to recapture with the aid of photographs. To achieve their purpose they have ransacked the files of galleries, museums, historical societies, foundations, libraries, and industrial enterprises. From their findings they have reproduced pictures of saloons, ocean liners, tall buildings, political rallies, automobiles, Grand Rapids furniture, fire engines, balloons, and streetcars. The professions, jobs, and postures of our national life are here: mail carriers, bargemen, loafers, polo players, financiers, actresses, farmers, Gibson girls, labor organizers, and steel workers. The great catastrophes of God and man are furnished forth—the Galveston flood, the San Francisco earthquake, the Lusitania, and the World War.

This inventory could be indefinitely continued. One is tempted to say the book contains pictures of everything. There are, in fact, at least three photographs of kitchen stoves. The arrangement of such a treasure trove of heterogeneous material is not easy, and the editors are to be complimented upon the success with which they have introduced a sense of order to their pages. Chapters—"The Nineties Were Not So Gay," "Old Ills and New Medicines," "The Imperial Experiment," "The Full Dinner Pail," etc.—divide the quarter century into two- or three-year periods. Within these divisions pictures are loosely grouped into appropriate categories of politics, agriculture, drama, fashions, sports, and the like. Brief texts accompanying each picture amplify the pictorial meaning and provide a running continuity.

This is a stimulating venture. The editors have exercised care, thought, and resourcefulness in developing their intentions. But the finished work falls short of the intent. For this, in part, the editors must assume responsibility. They have trusted too much in the pictures themselves. They have hoped, for instance, that by adroit juxtaposition of contrasting scenes suggestive historical points would be scored. Sometimes the contrast is not sharp enough. Two photographs of horses and buggies, one taken in Hempstead, New York, the other in Richmond, Virginia, do not really help much to establish the idea that the horse was the principal means of locomotion whether for business as in Hempstead or relaxation as in Richmond. Sometimes the contrast is too sharp. A Bessemer Converter balanced by a corral of wild ponies in North Carolina fail to relate to each other as part of the infinite variety of our economic life. The editors would have done better to set their pictures in a firmer, larger historical matrix. Especially in the areas of political and economic life one feels the need for additional descriptive text.

But the limitations of the work do not derive primarily from the defections of the editors. They have worked hard and earnestly, with only a few lapses into unhappy humor, in what must be accepted as a stubborn medium. Photographs, as a means of historical instruction, possess very real defects. They are, to begin with, too specific. An attempt to suggest the spread of street paving with a picture

of street paving in Two Harbors, Minnesota, fails. The attention is diverted from thoughts of general highway improvement; it is riveted on the bearded surveyors, the town loafers, and the false-fronted facade of Lee Kee's Laundry in Two Harbors, Minnesota. Again pictures may be too specific about the wrong things. The import of the panic of 1893 is not conveyed by a picture of the Duluth chamber of commerce meeting to discuss means of breaking the financial paralysis. The scene suggests only uncomfortable Victorian gentlemen sitting in straight chairs. They might be meeting anywhere to discuss anything.

The unfortunate part about pictures as a means of communication is that they serve primarily to evoke previously acquired information from the observer. There is, for example, a picture of the old whaleback *Christopher Columbus* in this book. To anyone who watched this vessel on its appointed round between Chicago and Milwaukee a generation ago it recalls the gaiety and bright sunlight of midwestern afternoons long gone. To an observer less privileged, the picture simply presents an oddly designed excursion boat.

The implications of pictures, to sum up, must already exist in the memory of the audience. That is perhaps the greatest weakness of the *Album of American History* as a means of instruction in history. For the uninitiated it is like the family album of a family one knew but little. For those who have an acquaintance with the country's past—and in this volume, for those whose memories extend back to the full dinner pail and the strenuous life—there will be moments of amused surprise, of occasional fond regret, and primarily of affectionate recognition. They will remember much, but in spite of the editors' best efforts they will probably learn little.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

ELTING E. MORISON

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY. By *Dudley W. Knox*, Commodore, U. S. N. With a Foreword by Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz and an Introduction by Vice Admiral William L. Rodgers. (Rev. ed.; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1948. Pp. xxiii, 704. \$7.50.)

THIS is the most ambitious and successful single-volume history of the United States Navy yet published. The author, a graduate of the United States Naval Academy in 1896 and of the Naval War College, served with distinction on Admiral Sims's planning staff in London during World War I and, after his retirement from active duty, took charge of the archives of the Navy Department and of their editing for publication. A generation of naval historians owes much to his wise and kindly guidance. A lifetime of meditation on the essential nature of sea power and its interrelation with commerce, diplomacy, and power politics, makes this not merely a narrative of naval events but a contribution to the history of national policy.

In the preface to his first edition, published in 1936, Captain Knox stated that his primary purposes were "(a) to present a connected and accurate narrative of

all important naval events in American history in readily understandable form; (b) to indicate the close relationship that has existed between naval affairs and the political, economic, military and other broad aspects of the national life during peace as well as war; (c) to make available such a record of naval activities as will adequately inform the student and the general reader of the national value of the Navy's work, and will also serve as a source of inspiration to the Navy itself, whose current morale necessarily includes tradition as an important component." Of the 434 pages of that first edition, 78 were allotted to the Revolution and the naval wars with France and Tripoli, 57 to the War of 1812, 126 to the years 1861-65, 35 to the war with Spain, and 35 to World War I. The emphasis on the role of the Navy in the Civil War is well justified, and the narrative, instead of remaining episodic, is well integrated with the grand strategy of the war.

To meet the second of his objectives stated above, Captain Knox devoted four chapters to the role of the Navy in the development and support of foreign trade prior to the Civil War, a thoughtful chapter to the maritime eclipse which followed and a provocative essay on the Navy as an ally of peacetime diplomacy from 1898 to 1917, stressing the penalty we paid in the early years of World War I for our previous neglect of our merchant marine.

The 200 pages on World War II which have been added in this new edition deserve a wide public. In preparing this admirable summary of the greatest of naval wars Captain Knox profited not only from his nautical and War College experience, but from access to official records.

Rival advocates of the merits of air and sea power have traded many punches since General William Mitchell first attacked the United States Navy after the bombing tests of 1921. The reviewer, who lunched with Captain Knox at the Navy Department the day of General Mitchell's blast, well remembers the excitement then prevailing, of which faint overtones are heard from time to time in the volume under review. Captain Knox gives a useful brief account of the development of our naval aviation and pays just tribute to the achievements of the squadrons launched from our carriers. "Had the doctrines advanced 2 decades earlier by General Mitchell and others then prevailed to separate aviation from the Navy on the British pattern, the war against Japan would have gone badly for many years. . . . Thus, instead of outmoding navies, as predicted by foolish prophets, aviation had enormously multiplied the potency of naval power" (p. 628).

At other points in his narrative Captain Knox supplements the facts of history with opinions as to what might have been. "Had the ships [of the 1916 naval program] been laid down in 1914 and pushed to completion, there is no doubt that our diplomacy with both sides would have been far more effective in maintaining our neutral rights on the sea, and with very much less danger of being drawn into the war" (p. 382). "The renewal of the submarine campaign probably would not have occurred if the American Navy had been strong enough in anti-submarine vessels and weapons to have impressed the German high command with a gen-

uine fear of our entering the war" (p. 383). "Had the ships then provided on paper been actually in existence, he [Wilson] would have had some success with the Allies in the early 1916 peace move" (p. 384).

Credit is given to the British Navy for its contributions to World War II, as in the development of antisubmarine and amphibious techniques. But surely the important role of the Canadian Navy in the Battle of the Atlantic deserved explicit statement. An equally glaring omission in the story of the German military collapse in 1918 was the failure to bring out the part played by the British Army in precipitating the debacle.

Williams College

JAMES P. BAXTER, 3D

THE CONQUEST AND COLONIZATION OF YUCATAN, 1517-1550. By Robert S. Chamberlain. (Washington: Carnegie Institution of Washington. 1948. Pp. vii, 365. Cloth \$5.50, paper \$4.75.)

THIS is, without doubt, one of the best monographs we now have on any phase of the Spanish conquest in America. Thoroughly grounded upon a tremendous quantity of documentary sources, from Spanish, Mexican, and Guatemalan archives, this work will long stand as a first-rate case study in New World conquest and colonization.

Probably the greatest single contribution is a complete clarification of the major phases of the Yucatecan conquest, plus an exposition of the close relationship of that conquest with the Honduras-Higueras and Golfo Dulce regions. These definitions will be of special interest to scholars working in or around the area of this monograph. Of more interest to historians in general will be the clear picture of institutional developments as they were related to the military phases of conquest and colonization; those who still think in terms of Spanish sword and cross as the sole weapons of conquest will be enlightened by the author's emphasis upon the high purposes and vision of the Spanish leaders, the economic and social planning which went hand in hand with military subjugation, and the political integration of Spanish and Indian systems usually in conformity with the well-intentioned concepts of the Spanish crown.

The work is divided into four main parts, as follows: (1) discovery of Yucatan and the abortive first phase of conquest, on the eastern coast, 1517-1529; (2) the second phase of military conquest, based on the Tabasco region and striking the peninsula through its western coast, 1529-1535—a failure also, but one which taught the Spanish leaders valuable lessons which were the basis for final success; (3) the final conquest, 1535-1548, including a thorough description and analysis of the Great Maya Revolt of 1546-1547; (4) the first years of the colony, 1541-1550, which treats of governmental administration and political developments, religious beginnings and organization, economic growth, and effects of the conquest on the Indian population. The well-organized bibliography is a revelation in thoroughness for those interested in any phase of the colonial history of the

hemisphere, an excellent picture of the riches in Spanish and Spanish-American collections. Two large maps, done with great care, are valuable aids, superior in clarity by comparison with most maps in similar studies. A small but good selection of photographs illustrates Mayan and Spanish architecture, Mayan physical types, and some other material.

In the foreground of this meaty history stand the Spanish conquerors, the Montejos (father, son, and nephew), as some of the greater figures in the story of colonial America. Their rescue from relative obscurity is not the least of the contributions made by the author.

The excellence of this monograph not only confirms and expands the reputation of the author as one of our outstanding scholars in colonial American history but also reflects great credit upon the Carnegie Institution of Washington, which aided in research and publication.

University of California, Santa Barbara College

PHILIP W. POWELL

LOST CITY OF THE INCAS: THE STORY OF MACHU PICCHU AND ITS BUILDERS. By *Hiram Bingham*. (New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce. 1948. Pp. xviii, 263. \$5.00.)

MACHU Picchu, abandoned Inca city on a high ridge of the Urubamba canyon, lay for centuries beneath a tangle of undergrowth until discovered and cleared by Dr. Hiram Bingham in 1911. Once again the city was neglected and virtually lost until the Peruvian government recleared it as a tourist center in 1934. In this book, Dr. Bingham retells the story of the original discovery and exploration. No claims for new information or new appraisal are made; rather, the justification for the present volume is based on the fact that the numerous earlier reports are out of print or difficult of access.

A background picture of Inca civilization is first presented in order that Machu Picchu may be understood in its proper framework. This involves a review of Inca achievements in architecture, masonry, and engineering, in agriculture and animal husbandry, in crafts of ceramics, weaving, and metallurgy, and in social and political organization. Dr. Bingham recognizes the Inca civilization as the culmination of a long developmental growth through earlier periods which archaeologists have designated by many names.

The last days of Inca glory and the downfall at the hands of the Spaniards are described. More elaborate treatment is devoted to the last four Incas, Manco II, Sayri Tupac, Titu Cusi, and Tupac Amaru, who resisted the Spaniards successfully for forty years following the conquest. According to the accounts these Incas maintained their center of resistance in the isolated Urubamba valley at a fortified town called Vitcos and at a hidden sanctuary called Vilcapampa.

The search for the lost city of Vilcapampa was the theme that inspired Dr. Bingham's original expedition. Once again is the story told of jungle trails, suspension bridges, mountain climbs, guides who deserted, and false leads. It cul-

minates in the discovery of Machu Picchu, a forest-covered city crowning a high ridge. The laborious task of clearing the ruins is next treated, and the resulting discoveries described, unit by unit. There are temples and altars, round rooms of dressed stone, windows, steps, terraces, water conduits, and a wide variety of masonry. Excavation in the city itself revealed sherds but no complete specimens, so an extended and successful search for burial caves was made in the adjacent area. The collections are described and the rarity of post-Columbian artifacts noted. Illustrations of the ruins and artifacts of Machu Picchu are distributed throughout the book.

The final chapter reiterates the argument that Machu Picchu was in reality the last Inca capital of Vilcapampa. But surely it must be older still, so Dr. Bingham presents the case for Machu Picchu as the original Tampu-tocco, birthplace of Manco Capac, mythical founder of the Inca Empire.

Yale University

WENDELL C. BENNETT

* * * *Other Recent Publications* * * *

General History

THE SCHEIDE LIBRARY: A SUMMARY VIEW OF ITS HISTORY AND ITS OUTSTANDING BOOKS TOGETHER WITH AN ACCOUNT OF ITS TWO FOUNDERS, WILLIAM TAYLOR SCHEIDE AND JOHN HINSDALE SCHEIDE. By *Julian P. Boyd*, Librarian, Princeton University. (Princeton, privately printed, 1947, pp. xv, 172.) Mr. Boyd's book about the Scheide library is a series of illustrations of Mr. Wroth's dictum that "rarity is a special grace added to esteem." The Scheide library comprises several thousand volumes, of which Mr. Boyd could mention only a few hundred. Yet, when those few hundred include such extraordinary "texts of living consequence" as a Gutenberg Bible, a Blickling Homilies manuscript, a *Das Rheingold* manuscript, and a Williamsburg edition of George Washington's *Journal* (1754), it becomes obvious that the rarity of this sort of material is of minor importance in relation to the esteem in which it is held. One of the marks of a great book collector is his ability to integrate his collection so that its individual pieces form a harmonious whole. The Scheides have done this to a splendid degree. The pattern of the collection—the theme of great ideas and expressions—is vividly clear, when books by Copernicus, Vesalius, Bacon, Galileo, Newton, Pasteur, Darwin, Daguerre, Röntgen, and Einstein are mentioned on two successive pages. And it is clear again, when the chapter on monuments of English literature starts with manuscripts of Magna Carta and the Blickling Homilies; continues with a noble series of Caxton printings of Chaucer, Jacobus de Voragine, and others; Shakespeare (the four folio editions); Milton (*Paradise Lost* and *Areopagitica*); and concludes with the first edition of *Pilgrims Progress*. The biographical sketches of William Taylor Scheide and John Hinsdale Scheide are highly successful in describing and explaining the thoughtful care which went into the forming of the great Scheide library. Mr. Boyd succeeds also in driving home his thesis that the "character and motives of the two men who brought these books together and the circumstances under which they labored for such high and unselfish ends are as much a part of the history of the library as the books themselves. Some of the greatest of the world's books are to be found in the Scheide library, but all of them, even the greatest, have assumed new dignity and meaning because of the manner in which they were assembled and because of the purposes for which this was done." In the literature of library history, *The Scheide Library* is a "special grace added to esteem." Although it is still private and personal, one may hope this great collection will someday, like others of equal distinction, become a public institution.

COLTON STORM, *University of Michigan*

THIS IS LUTHER: A CHARACTER STUDY. By *Ewald M. Plass*. (St. Louis, Concordia, 1948, pp. xiv, 395, \$5.00.) Professor Plass has brought together into a lively narrative quotations from Luther's writings and incidents of his life which throw light on "the many-sidedness and richness" of his character. He portrays him as a genius who was at all times concerned primarily with religious problems; who was consistently a conservative, not a revolutionary, reformer; whose references to political, economic, social, and cultural matters must be interpreted in the light of his overwhelming faith in God's grace which saves the sinner and is found alone in the

Bible; and whose greatness of character consisted of "complete self-effacement, utter reliance upon Jesus Christ, a death- and devil-defying courage, and an immovable conviction of the ultimate triumph of the cause of Christ." The author's reverence for his subject leads him to make his book an apology against the "Romanists" and the "Modernists," whose critical ability he questions. In so doing he raises issues which were essentially those of the first years of our century and have been adequately presented from a Protestant point of view by Heinrich Böhmer in his *Luther and the Reformation in the Light of Recent Research*. But he barely touches upon the more recent problems raised by the National Socialist interpreters of Luther as well as by their opponents and completely ignores the attitudes toward Luther of the Neo-Scholastics, Barthians, and other significant religious groups. This reluctance to come to grips with current issues is reflected in the author's bibliography, which omits the works of such recent and contemporary scholars of Luther and the Reformation as Ernst Tröltsch, Karl Holl, Otto Scheel, Walther Köhler, Gerhard Ritter, and James Mackinnon, not to mention the important Scandinavian and American scholars. For this reason the use of the book will be limited largely to those who are interested in its abundant supply of quotations and do not have access to the larger, more detailed studies of Luther's life and work. While Professor Plass modestly states in his preface that he does not profess "to have plumbed the depth of Luther's character," the publication of his volume calls attention to the need for a study which will make use of recent scholarship in attempting to analyze the reformer's psychology, relate his character to the general environment of sixteenth century Germany, and answer the problems raised by the important events of our own day.

HAROLD J. GRIMM, *Ohio State University*

SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE. By S. Lilley. (Paris, J. Peyronnet, 1949, pp. 70.) This important and interesting pamphlet is published by "l'Union Internationale d'Histoire des Sciences," with the aid of a subvention from UNESCO. The author, a member of St. John's College, Cambridge, England, says in his opening paragraph: "The following pages are an outcome of a decision taken by the Commission for the History of the Social Relations of Science of the I.U.H.S. at its meeting of June, 1948. The Commission had before it a request from the Director General of UNESCO that it should make an early contribution to the general work of UNESCO in the field of popularising science. It therefore decided that an essay should be written which would stress the importance of the problems arising from the interrelations of science and society in the modern world and would illustrate the way in which historical studies can help in the solution of these problems." Dr. Lilley, entrusted with the task of writing this essay, soon found that his material was expanding into a book, a volume of which this pamphlet is a précis. No price appears on the pamphlet, but it is suggested that those interested should write for information to Professor Lilley, 42 Lyndewode Road, Cambridge, England.

MORRIS C. LEIKIND, *Washington, D. C.*

DOCUMENTARY BACKGROUND OF WORLD WAR II, 1931 TO 1941. Compiled and Edited by James W. Gantenbein. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1948, pp. xxxiii, 1122, \$10.00.) This important collection of documents represents a successful effort to trace, through speeches of statesmen, dictators, diplomatic correspondence, and other important sources, the foreign policies of the United States, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Russia, Japan, and the League of Nations. The book is divided into eight parts, with each part except the last devoted to the foreign policy of a particular country. Part I deals with the diplomatic policy of the United

States toward Europe, Asia, and Latin America. It relates rather specifically the attitude of America toward disarmament and toward ruthless aggression everywhere. To emphasize this phase of American foreign policy there are included messages and addresses by Henry L. Stimson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Cordell Hull, Joseph C. Grew, and others. The documents also include the Atlantic Charter, the neutrality laws, the national emergency, and lend-lease. Part II deals with Great Britain's general foreign policy as explained by statements of Ramsay MacDonald, Stanley Baldwin, Neville Chamberlain, and Winston Churchill. The documents also outline Great Britain's specific policy in dealing with Mussolini, Hitler, and Hirohito. Part III presents France's general and specific foreign policies. To illustrate her position the editor has carefully selected documents, statements, addresses, and communications of leading political officials such as Briand and Daladier. Part IV records Russia's foreign policy as presented in addresses and communications of Litvinov, Molotov, and Krestinski. The documents also reveal Russia's policy in regard to Czechoslovakia, Finland, and Poland. Stalin is conspicuously absent and his name does not appear in the index. Part V emphasizes Germany's foreign policy as presented in communications and addresses of Hitler and his trusted advisers in regard to Austria, Czechoslovakia, France, Great Britain, Italy, and the United States. Part VI takes up the Italian foreign policy in a similar way by including documents and communications which divulge Italy's attitude toward Ethiopia, the Balkans, France, Germany, Russia, and the United States. Part VII includes the important Japanese foreign policy in regard to China, the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and France. The documents also reveal the growing rivalry between Japan and the United States in the Pacific. Part VIII is devoted to documents which pertain primarily to international agreements, resolutions, and joint communiqués. The attitude of the League is disclosed toward Japan's invasion of Manchuria, Germany's violations of the Treaty of Versailles, and Italy's war with Ethiopia. The editor has selected an amazingly comprehensive list of about 450 documents and speeches covering the incidents in every important country during the critical years 1931-1941. The book is indispensable to the student of this decade.

GEORGE DEWEY HARMON, *Lehigh University*

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Ancient History¹

T. Robert S. Broughton

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¹ Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

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Medieval History

Bernard J. Holm

THE SCOTTISH BURGHs: AN EXPANDED VERSION OF THE RHIND LECTURES IN ARCHAEOLOGY FOR 1945. By *William Mackay Mackenzie*. (Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd, 1949, pp. xi, 194, 18s.) It is indeed a pleasure for me to commend very highly this little book. The reason for my commendation, obviously, is that the author agrees with me by attributing municipal institutions in the British Isles to economic changes of the tenth and following centuries, rather than to alleged racial or national inheritance from a primitive age. Whether or not most interested historians will accept our interpretation of the available sources, here is something which they definitely ought to read. Mr. Mackenzie's book consists of ten chapters: the first four dealing with problems of origin and essential burghal characteristics, the six following with more particular aspects of subsequent development. For me, as probably for other students of social change in the Middle Ages, the former group has the greater attraction. Chapter I ("Origin of Burghs"), after criticizing older theories of burghal derivation from some primordial Scottish custom, concludes with the statement: "The key-word to the burgh is creation, not growth." In chapter II ("On Charters and the Burgh Laws") Mr. Mackenzie convincingly supports the same thesis by proving that the Scottish burghs were founded by King David (1084-1153), who granted to them the liberties previously established at Newcastle-upon-Tyne by Henry I of England—liberties that were essentially the same as those enjoyed by contemporary *villes neuves* on the Continent, such as Freiburg-im-Breisgau, Lorris, Beaumont-en-Argonne, Verneuil, and Breteuil. Chapter III ("Burgh Settlers and Fortification") shows that at first Scottish burgesses were colonists within fortified mercantile settlements by citing the specific examples of Glasgow, Ayr, and Dumbarton. Then follows chapter IV ("The New Towns"), in which the author gives us even more valuable information. Here he clinches his previous argument by demonstrating how topographical study confirms the evidence of written sources—why "provincial explanations" of urban origins in Scotland must be rejected in favor of what I should call "European explanations." And in this connection he gives us six charts to illustrate the beginnings of early burghs: Forres, Elgin, Inverness, Peebles, Hull, and Perth. I am gratified that Mr. Mackenzie (p. 56) approves my opinion to the effect that "One avenue of evidence has not been adequately explored in England in comparison with the Continent and has been scarcely touched in Scotland, namely, the original topography of early burghs." I trust that more English scholars will follow the precedent thus set by their Scottish compatriot. On subsequent pages Mr. Mackenzie, in less controversial vein, describes "Burgh Privileges," "Monopoly Difficulties," "Burgh Administration," "Municipal Constitutions," "Trade as National not Burghal," and the "Fate of Burghal Property." These are all good chapters; but, for reasons stated above, I leave others more adequately to appraise them and restrict my comment to the part of the book that particularly appeals to me. This, I repeat, is a fine piece of work, well deserving the attention of scholars in the medieval field.

CARL STEPHENSON, *Cornell University*

AIRE-SUR-LA-LYS DES ORIGINES AU XVI^{me} SIÈCLE: UNE COMMUNE FLAMANDE-ARTÉSIENNE. By Le Chanoine *Paul Bertin*. [Études historiques publiées sous la direction de M. l'Abbé Lestocquoy, III.] (Arras, Commission départementale des monuments historiques du Pas-de-Calais, 1946, pp. xxxiv, 430, 500 fr.) Few scholars will care to read all of this work; many, however, will wish and need to consult it

for the abundant detail it contains to illustrate communal origins and life in the Middle Ages. Paul Bertin has exhausted archives and library collections and the fate of the little town of Aire is now made sufficiently clear for historians. The author has been inspired in his task by the broad thesis of Pirenne concerning communal developments and also by the work of men like Espinas and Lestocquoy. He correctly considers his own contribution a supplement to and an elucidation of their valuable work. Aire never became anything but a small town, one of a lower order than Ghent, Bruges, St. Omer, Arras, or Lille. It is surprising nevertheless how much the history of this small community parallels in miniature that of the larger and more famous communities. There are as yet few studies of small communes like Aire and it is profitable to examine in detail the course of its history, a history which Bertin shows to be "not only the history of a city, but also a history of the city in the Middle Ages." The commune reached the high point of its development in the thirteenth century and by that time attained recognition of its communal status. It was to be forever sensitive to and at the mercy of the fluctuations of power and other forces in the political life of Flanders and Artois. The origins of the town and its relations with political and ecclesiastical powers and their officials are described carefully. There is also an exceptionally full and detailed analysis of the form of communal government and administration. The author's carefully drawn picture of social and economic life makes most rewarding reading. In all, one sees this little community of less than 2,000 persons, in the late thirteenth century, as representative of both urban tendencies which made it thrive and of rural conditions which bound town and countryside close together. The numerous illustrations deserve better attention from proper technicians. The facsimile of the fundamental *Loi d'Amitié* facing page 46 is inexcusably bad and almost illegible. There are numerous selections from unpublished documents in an appendix and a separate appendix containing a "Tableau des Sommes demandées à la Ville d'Aire et des Rentes émises par elle pour Prêts et Aides, de 1360 à 1470."

GRAY C. BOYCE, *Northwestern University*

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Modern European History

BRITISH EMPIRE AND COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

Francis H. Herrick

NOUVELLE HISTOIRE D'ANGLETERRE. By Jean Allary. [Collection "L'Histoire racontée à tous."] (Paris, Hachette, 1948, pp. 349, 400 fr.) A work such as this, undertaking the tale of British history from the beginnings to 1948 in hardly more than a third of the space of our standard college textbooks, should perhaps have two critical readers. The specialist might comment on accuracy, proportion, and emphasis, while a representative of the "everybody" to whom this series is addressed could say how far he found the volume clear, interesting, and a stimulus to further investigation. Let it be said at once that the present reviewer finds M. Allary's work exactly what it professes to be. With no pretense at "interpretation," without haste or apology, it tells its story with cool lucidity. There are few pauses for explanation or analysis, and few separate passages on constitutional, institutional, or economic topics as such; yet great skill is shown in linking the essential facts of social change with the central narrative focused on kings and statesmen. Only occasionally is there audacity of generalization, as in the assertion of a striking resemblance between the attitudes of the mid-Victorian Englishman and the American of our own day (p. 264). Interpretation is after all implicit: the reader emerges with the impression that the prime characteristics of British history are order and adaptability. One must not criticize for omissions, nor are there serious strictures on the author's organization. Of minor errors there are plenty. Emma, the mother of Edward the Confessor, was not a sister of William the Conqueror (p. 34); the Magnus Intercursus was not the result of Archduke Philip's shipwreck on the English coast (p. 95); the papal partition line of 1493 did not cross

Mexico (p. 116); Cobbett's paper was the *Political* not the *National Register* (p. 243); Francis Place was not a member of Parliament (p. 247); Irish Free State elections took place in 1932, not 1930 (p. 328). There is something less than the usual French quota of misspelled proper names. The volume is without maps or index.

H. DONALDSON JORDAN, *Clark University*

CITIZEN THOMAS MORE AND HIS UTOPIA. By *Russell Ames*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1949, pp. viii, 230, \$3.50.) The elusive complexity of More's *Utopia* is succinctly indicated by Dr. Ames's list of fourteen lines of approach and interpretation that various writers have taken; he remarks that each of these has some truth in it, though all can hardly be equally true. Dr. Ames himself chooses to treat the book as "a product of capitalism's attack on feudalism, a part of middle-class and humanist criticism of a decaying social order," and he sees its core as "republican, bourgeois, and democratic—the result of More's experience as a man of business, as a politician, and as an Erasmian reformer." Such an aim leads to precise and substantial pictures of the English and European world in an age when all classes, from noble to peasant, were feeling the effects of economic reorientation, when a weakened though rapacious nobility was giving way to a new commercial bourgeoisie, and when the church—not yet shaken by the Lutheran revolt—seemed to such good Catholics as Colet, Erasmus, and More to hold the possibility of internal reform. Dr. Ames places More solidly in this changing society and shows the immediacy and practicality of many of his ideas, whatever protective coloring they may assume in the second part of *Utopia*. The importance of More's middle-class background and his zeal for radical reform needed re-examination, and Dr. Ames carries out his task with scholarly knowledge, acumen, and fair-mindedness. His main impulse comes from Kautsky, but he has much to add and much to criticize, especially Kautsky's tendency to read into *Utopia* the modern conflict of capital and labor. Dr. Ames in part follows Seebohm, and his recognition of humanistic social interests is a good corrective for those historians who dismiss the humanists as mere students of *eloquentia*. In short, Dr. Ames's study is continually helpful, though it is avowedly one-sided in its theme and emphasis. While praising the value and charm of R. W. Chambers' work, he puts his finger on some shortcomings and evasions; yet one may think that "citizen Thomas More" would not be the worse for a somewhat larger tincture of Chambers' medieval Catholic. There is no space here for particular queries, but one may wish that a scholar had left it to journalists to describe Plato (p. 114) as a slave-owner (what of some fathers of the American Revolution?) and a fascist, and one might ask what evidence Dr. Ames has in mind in saying (p. 170) that Plato's Republic "is founded on slave labor."

DOUGLAS BUSH, *Harvard University*

THE CONCERN FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE IN THE PURITAN REVOLUTION.

By *W. Schenk*. (London and New York, Longmans, Green, 1948, pp. xi, 180, 15s., \$3.25.) In convenient and readable form, W. Schenk has presented a well-oriented account of radical social thinking during the Puritan Revolution. "Concern" for social injustice would be a more accurate description of the aspects of the Puritan mind with which Schenk is chiefly engaged, and while it is probably an impossible task at this distance in time to assess the inward mind of the Levellers, the Diggers, the Quakers, and the Fifth Monarchy Men through their printed utterances, Schenk has made effective use of the large body of their tracts in the Thomason Collection and elsewhere to evaluate the prevalence and temper of such concepts as social equality and the holy community. In such matters, Schenk adopts the moderate position of Woodhouse (*Puritanism and Liberty*), stressing always religious rather than economic com-

pulsions as basic in Puritan thought. Perhaps the greatest value of the book is its correction of Marxist-Leninist interpretation of the radical ideas of men like Gerrard Winstanley. Schenk's emphasis on the traditional context in which such ideas moved counteracts the disposition of Petegorsky (*Left-Wing Democracy in the English Civil War*) to consider them as "forerunners" of the Marxian dialectic. "The shaping and inspiring force" in their thinking was religion "with deep and complex roots in the past" (p. 161). How deep and complex those roots were Schenk does not always stress. (See especially Helen C. White's *Social Criticism in Popular Religious Literature of the Sixteenth Century*.) Thus, in re-establishing the "holy community," which in Woodhouse's view is the distinguishing characteristic of seventeenth century Puritanism, the appeal to Biblical analogies as the ideal basis of the perfect society echoes social criticism in all previous periods of discontent, though English Puritans, as Hans Kohn has pointed out (*The History of Nationalism*), were more conscious than earlier social critics of being the Chosen People. It may be objected that, in countering the Marxist interpretation, Schenk has placed himself in the position of special pleader for the Puritan point of view as against what he calls the "secularisation" in modern times of the concept of the nature of man. One need not insist on "the essentially religious nature of society and the essentially social nature of religion" (p. 166) in accepting Schenk's thesis that the Puritans certainly held such a view.

W. GORDON ZEEVELD, *University of Maryland*

THE INFLUENCE OF SEA POWER ON THE HISTORY OF THE BRITISH PEOPLE. By Admiral Sir W. M. James. [The Lees Knowles Lectures on Military History for 1947.] (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1948, pp. 71, \$1.50.) The author served for a considerable period during the late world war as commander-in-chief, Portsmouth. In 1941, his official residence was destroyed by a bomb and for the ensuing eighteen months he lived and maintained an office on board Nelson's old flagship, H.M.S. *Victory*. Living in such an atmosphere it is not surprising that Admiral James has recently written a book about Nelson, entitled *The Durable Monument* (London, 1948). It is natural to discover that one of the three lectures contained in the volume now being reviewed is devoted to Nelson, whom Mahan called "the embodiment of the sea power of Great Britain." The three lectures are entitled, "Sea Power," "Nelson," and "The Navy in the Two World Wars." This reviewer believes that the first and second are excellent, but he was less impressed by the third. Admiral James has this to say on a subject which is much discussed in our newspapers: "The advent of a new weapon has usually led to the belief that all other weapons are obsolete or obsolescent, but that belief has been short-lived. Once the enthusiasts have overcome the opposition of the scoffers and the wilfully blind, a new weapon has been rapidly developed and has acquired a dominating position, only to be overtaken in its turn by counter-weapons, and forced back into its proper place in the armoury. . . . There is, therefore, no proof that the brains which invented these new and terrible weapons are for the first time incapable of inventing a means of exploding them before they arrive at their objective." One of the best features of this book is the emphasis which Admiral James places on the proper study and understanding of history. He cites specific instances to show how the reading and study of history was neglected in England between the two wars and how this neglect had a bad influence on the British Navy as well as on governmental planning in general. Of course, in this country, we have suffered and are suffering from the same neglect of history. Many of our most unfortunate experiences as a people have come from an attempt to ignore the lessons of history, and it is a deplorable fact, today, that many so-called educators are attempting to substitute various quackeries for

the sensible teaching of history. In several ways Admiral James shows the evils resulting from a dependence on propaganda in lieu of history. The far-reaching bad consequences of propaganda almost cost Great Britain a military defeat in the recent war and it is apparent that many of the British difficulties today can be traced to the substitution of propaganda for fact as a basis for determining national policy. In 1926, Admiral James (then a captain) published a book entitled *The British Navy in Adversity*. This is an outstanding historical work and covers the period of the American Revolution from the standpoint of the operations of the Royal Navy. The admiral has published several other volumes on naval history including, *The British Navies in World War II* (1946).

JOHN B. HEFFERNAN, *Washington, D. C.*

BRITAIN'S HERITAGE: A RECORD OF THE NATIONAL TRUST. Edited by *James Lees-Milne*. With an Introduction by *G. M. Trevelyan*. (2d ed.; London and New York, B. T. Batsford, 1948, pp. xii, 132, \$3.75.) This admirable volume has a special interest for the many American historians who are participating in the movement, long overdue, to create an American counterpart of the National Trust. It contains the record of fifty years' labors and achievements of the National Trust, founded in 1895 to acquire and protect places of scenic beauty and historic interest in England and Wales from the corrosive inroads of modern life. A dozen distinguished contributors, including historians, architects, archaeologists, and naturalists, have collaborated to describe and interpret hundreds of significant properties now held by the National Trust in perpetuity, or protected by covenant, for the benefit of the nation. Separate chapters are devoted to such subjects as ancient sites, medieval buildings, the manor house, the country house, country buildings, town buildings, and historic shrines. The record of the National Trust is an impressive one and places in its debt all historians who appreciate the documentary value of historic and architectural monuments. In one sense, this volume is a brief authoritative guide to the greatest single collection of historic sites and buildings in England and Wales. There are over one hundred handsome illustrations. Unless man consciously protects his inheritance of landscape and history "at the partial expense of some of his other greedy activities," as Dr. G. M. Trevelyan states in an eloquent introduction, "he will cut off his own spiritual supplies, and leave his descendants a helpless prey forever to the base materialism of mean and vulgar sights."

RONALD F. LEE, *Washington, D. C.*

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FRANCE

Beatrice F. Hyslop

LA VIE QUOTIDIENNE SOUS LOUIS XIV. By *Georges Mongrédien*. [Collection "La vie quotidienne."] (Paris, Hachette, 1948, pp. 250, 300 fr.) This small volume is listed as the eleventh in a series of small volumes dealing with the daily life of the various social classes from the remote period of the Pharaohs to the turn of the nineteenth century, each volume by a different author. M. Mongrédien, if we are to judge by the titles of his published works, is well qualified, by reason of his familiarity with the social and literary history of seventeenth century France, to write authoritatively on this phase of French history. The chronological limits assigned him were the years 1660 and 1715. In his preface he wins the confidence of the reader at the outset by revealing his awareness of the difficulties confronting the historian who sets his hand to the task of describing the daily life of the bourgeois, the artisan, and the peasant over the whole extent of France during the period under consideration. At the end of the volume he indicates in a bibliography of more than 150 titles the primary sources and the secondary works from which he drew his information. The following are his chapter headings: "La cour"; "Le décor de la rue"; "La bourgeoisie"; "Le costume, la toilette et la mode"; "La table"; "Jeux et distractions"; "Patrons, ouvriers et artisans"; "Officiers et soldats"; "La vie intellectuelle"; "Les déshérités: pauvres, malades et prisonniers"; "Ruraux et paysans"; "Misères et révoltes." The distinctive characteristic of the period was the rise in wealth and importance of the bourgeoisie, who came to be honored by the king and envied by the nobility. With a wealth of interesting detail M. Mongrédien tells us how the bourgeois raised and educated their children, kept their account books, decorated their homes and decked themselves out in fine clothes, and received and entertained their friends. As to the peasants, he warns against the danger of hasty generalization. Though most of the documents represent the peasant as badly nourished, badly housed, crushed with taxation, eking out a miserable existence on a tiny parcel of land, it is necessary, he explains, to take into consideration the exact time and place. Not until many more regional studies have been made, like those of Babeau, Henri Sée, Roupel, and Elie Reynier, can a valid synthesis be attempted. Meanwhile it is well to remember that many popular songs have come down from the seventeenth century, "*et l'on ne chante pas le ventre vide*." In the reviewer's opinion this is the most convenient and the best book on social France under Louis XIV. It deserves translation into English.

MITCHELL B. GARRETT, *University of North Carolina*

SAINT-MARC GIRARDIN—BOURGEOIS. By *Laurence W. Wylie*, Assistant Professor of Romance Languages, Haverford College. (Syracuse, Syracuse University Press, 1947, pp. xiv, 234.) It is now a truism that history is one, and that in particular political history and literary history are inseparable. Yet their perspective is different. A mediocrity is more "representative" than a genius: Saint-Marc Girardin is "nineteenth century France" far more truly than Baudelaire. Conversely, race, environment, and time explain everything about a genius, except his genius. The important point about Hugo is not that he was a French bourgeois, but that he was Hugo. Such is the justification of Wylie's book. Saint-Marc Girardin (1801-1873) worked exactly where literature and politics meet, and he worked with sustained and brilliant success. Professor of "poetry" and "dramatic art," critic, essayist, member of the French Academy, he was unquestionably a man of letters. Journalist (a pillar of the old *Débats*), deputy under Louis-Philippe, a leader of the liberal guerrilla under Napoleon III, head of the Right Center at the beginning of the Third Republic, he was also a political figure. In neither domain did he attain the heights. But to call him a mediocrity or even a second-rater would be unfair. He was first-rate in the second rank, and had sense enough never to attempt the first. Saint-Marc Girardin is the eternal bourgeois, the scion of Boileau, the father of André Maurois. As the revolutions of 1789 and 1830 gave power to his class, he upholds them. As 1848 brought in democracy, he hates 1848—February no less than June or December. He is the perfect Orleanist. Then the bourgeois gloried in their own principles. France's business was Business; success, as measured by wealth, was the best qualification for citizenship. His realistic creed was untainted by Huguenot righteousness, as it was with Guizot, or by democratic nonsense. In this his thought was purer than that of our ruling class, at heart no less orthodox than he. Laurence Wylie has a frank bias against the bourgeois, perhaps for literary rather than for social or political reasons: for the bourgeois is the antipode of the poet. But the book is judicial, not sarcastic. On a minor subject, it is indeed an excellent piece of historical writing: well informed, sane, alert in style. It will help students of French affairs to understand that impregnable rock, the French bourgeoisie, ranging from Barthou and Poincaré to Herriot and even Léon Blum. The proofreading, unfortunately, is extremely faulty; but this obvious blemish should not create a prejudice against the author's scholarship. ALBERT GUERARD, *Stanford University*

THE ROLE OF METTERNICH IN UNDERMINING NAPOLEON. By *Josephine Bunch Stearns*. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, Volume XXIX, Number 4.] (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1948, pp. 122, cloth \$2.50, paper \$1.50.) This is a monograph on Metternich's ambassadorship in Paris from 1806 to 1809. As the title suggests, the author is primarily concerned with appraising what Metternich accomplished during those years in preparing Napoleon's undoing, and, since she sees things very much as Metternich wished any reader of his memoirs to see them, the result is that the Paris years are depicted with a complacent satisfaction almost equal to that with which the great man himself regarded his past endeavors. There were some errors of judgment, to be sure, but these were more than offset, we are assured, by the lessons learned at Paris which enabled Metternich "to accomplish the French ruler's downfall." These are large claims, but they are not convincingly sustained. The sources, mainly French, of which the author has availed herself, have been worked over repeatedly by historians of deserved eminence, as Professor Geyl reminds us most forcefully in his recent book on Napoleon in French historiography. It requires a thorough mastery of this literature, combined with exceptional imagination and insight, to produce a really valuable book on a subject such as this. It can be done, as Herbert Butterfield showed some years ago in his brilliant essay on *The Peace Tactics*

of *Napoleon, 1806-1808* (a book, incidentally, which Mrs. Stearns does not appear to have noticed); but it is not easy. *The Role of Metternich in Undermining Napoleon* is not an important addition to the discussion. PAUL R. SWEET, *Bucks, England*

LES BANQUES FRANÇAISES AU COURS DU XIX^e SIÈCLE. By *Robert Bigo*. (Paris, Recueil Sirey, 1947, pp. 304, 400 fr.) The author offers an interesting, if somewhat cursive, treatment of a difficult subject. On the basis of wide reading and his own experience in the Banque de France, M. Bigo discusses with commendable liveliness the general question of credit in France, the development of financial techniques, the different types of institutions which made this development possible, and finally, the men themselves: bankers, brokers, notaries, *et al.* If the volume is rather disorganized, indeed something in the nature of a grab bag, it does have more than its share of prizes in the way of hitherto unknown sidelights on the financial history of the period. The bibliography also is especially useful. All in all, an important work in a field which has seen little new since Kaufmann's *Banque en France* in 1914 and Ramon's *Histoire de la Banque de France* in 1929. DAVID S. LANDES, *Paris, France*

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NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

NORWAY, HER INVASION AND OCCUPATION. By *Amanda Johnson*, Professor of History, Georgia State College for Women, Milledgeville, Georgia. (Decatur, Ga., Bowen Press, 1948, pp. x, 372.) This book contains a convenient collection of a mass of details about conditions in Norway during the German occupation, and not a little information about the government in exile and the part Norwegians played in the war beyond the borders of their homeland. The material is pertinent and authentic. The bibliography, although it is not—and does not pretend to be—exhaustive, contains a wide range of sources; but the footnotes indicate that the author has drawn mainly upon the information sent out from the legation in Washington and on the foreign language papers in this country. It is unfortunate that she has been content to re-translate, from Norwegian or Danish, quotations from English sources. Churchill's cadences, for example, have lost their rhythm when they reach us via a Danish newspaper. By choosing, probably wisely, to treat the various phases of the occupation in separate chapters, the author has sacrificed the opportunity to present any chronological story of the whole development during the war years. Yet the reader looks in vain for a clear, convincing treatment of special topics, whether it be the relations between German and Norwegian authorities in the confusing early months of the war, the attitude of Sweden, or the legal aspects of the occupation. The trade and the economic situation are given quite adequate handling, as is also the position of labor during the first two years of the war. A number of errors in facts have crept in. For example, about three, not thirty, per cent of Norway's area is under cultivation; obviously it was not fear that induced the people to submit to rationing; and the legation in Washington can hardly be said to have stood idle in prewar years. Moreover the emotional tension of the style weakens the effect and tends to produce a distorted picture. The overworked cliché of "the indomitable Vikings," whether in words or picture, is hardly more descriptive of the home front than is the phrase "Peer Gynt's countrymen." The book gives the impression of hasty editing: there is a lack of consistency in such details as use of italics or the choice between employing terms in the Norwegian or in translation. Translations are often inaccurate, *blad* (newspaper), for example, is rendered "blade," while *Zeitung* and *tidende* (journal) become "times." There seems to be no reason for using the Norwegian form of such common words as dandelion and sawdust. A little more care would have added immeasurably to the strength of a book which really contains a wealth of information.

KAREN LARSEN, *St. Olaf College*

SUOMEN LAPPALAISET VUOTEEN 1945 [the Finland Lapps to the year 1945]. By *T. I. Itkonen*. Two volumes. (Helsinki, Söderström, 1948, pp. 589, 629, 1950 M.)

Publications on the Finland Lapps number over five hundred titles, the major contributions having been made by such scholars and writers as Isak and Jacob Fellman, Samuli Paulaharju, Väinö Tanner, and E. A. Virtanen. It has remained, however, for Dr. T. I. Itkonen to prepare a truly definitive study. No aspect of Lappish culture seems to have been neglected in this two-volume work of encyclopedic proportions. There are thirty-nine chapters, among them such headings as geographical setting, history, anthropology, language and names, character traits, buildings, trade, fishing, hunting, agriculture, care of deer and dogs, customs and myths, household furnishings, and bodily ornaments. In a word, its scope ranges from birth to burial rites, from mundane toil to happy moments of recreation. The amount of research represented by the two volumes is staggering. The bibliography lists nearly 350 titles (of which Itkonen has authored 35), covering the chief Finnish published and archival sources, and the significant Norwegian, Swedish, and German monographs. Some dozen field investigations were carried on by the author during the years 1913-47. Scholars will not complain of a paucity of documentation; the chapter on settlement, for example, has no less than 246 footnote references (by a hasty count). Illustrative materials, too, are abundant; there are 442 well-chosen photographs and drawings, and 15 maps. Itkonen's study of the Finland Lapps has been described in the country of its publication as "one of the most important achievements of recent Finnish scholarship." This is not extravagant praise. No scholar whose range of interests touches the Lapps can have an easy conscience until he has put his hands on this monumental work.

JOHN ILMARI KOLEHMAINEN, *Heidelberg College*

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GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Ernst Posner

DEUTSCHLAND-JAHRBUCH 1949. Edited by Klaus Mehnert and Heinrich Schulte. (Essen, West-Verlag, 1949, pp. 502.) *Deutschland-Jahrbuch 1949* represents a pioneer work since this is the first yearbook, embracing all phases of national life, which has ever been published in Germany. In the past, of course, an abundance of handbooks covering separate special fields provided similar data, though in a more dispersed form. The editors of this new work have attempted to maintain the German tradition of compiling factual and complete compendiums of information. Nearly a hundred collaborators from all spheres of activity—art, science, politics, economics, etc.—supported by the studies and findings of institutes and societies, aided in assembling the materials. In view of the provisional nature of many arrangements and the rapidly changing conditions in Germany, it is reasonable to expect some gaps as well as inaccuracies in this first yearbook. The editors experienced special difficulties in penetrating the “iron curtain” and in some cases found it impossible to gather adequate information or statistics for the Russian zone. The *Jahrbuch* is a valuable aid for the intelligent seeker of information on the status of occupied Germany. No other single source contains such a detailed accumulation of data on all phases of German life. The book includes a list and a digest of the major decrees of the military government as they affected all fields of activity. In the *Jahrbuch*, the lover of art and the art historian can obtain a survey of the degree of destruction and possibilities of restoration of such diverse objects as the Cologne Cathedral and the contents of noted art galleries or museums. The *Jahrbuch* has useful special lists which are of interest to the historian or anyone interested in research. Included is a list of higher schools, universities, technical institutes, art and music schools, scientific institutes, etc., together with data on their location and the number of students in 1947. Another catalogue contains a listing of all important libraries, giving the location thereof, the number of volumes saved from the holocaust, the status of the library buildings, files, and the degree of usability. Similar tables appear on museums, diverse collections, music festivals, learned societies, political parties, churches, radio stations, publishing companies, and the location of military missions, diplomatic representatives, and consuls now resident in the western zones and Berlin. For the historian there is one notable gap—a lack of information on the status and accessibility of archives.

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NAZI-SOVIET RELATIONS, 1939-1941: DOCUMENTS FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE GERMAN FOREIGN OFFICE. Edited by *Raymond James Sontag* and *James Stuart Beddie*. (Washington, Department of State, 1948, pp. xxxvii, 362, \$1.00.)

DAS NATIONALSOZIALISTISCHE DEUTSCHLAND UND DIE SOWJET-UNION, 1939-1941: AKTEN AUS DEM ARCHIV DES DEUTSCHEN AUSWÄRTIGEN AMTS. Deutsche Ausgabe von *Eber Malcolm Carroll*, Professor of History in Duke University, und *Fritz Theodor Epstein*, Historian, Department of State. (Washington, Department of State, 1948, pp. xlv, 416.) This collection of documents covers the events leading up to, and Russo-German relations during the operation of, the Nazi-Soviet Nonaggression Pact of August, 1939. The picture it presents does not aim at completeness; it reveals little about the motives which induced either partner to enter this "alliance of mutual suspicion" (John W. Wheeler-Bennett). Moreover, without access to Soviet documents, it can give only the German version of the story. (Some additional information can be found in the Nuremberg documents and the recent Soviet-sponsored publication of captured German material.) Within these limitations, however, the present collection makes a welcome contribution to our information on Nazi-Soviet relations during that critical period from the spring of 1939 to June, 1941. Neither side apparently decided until the very last moment that an agreement could and should be reached, and it is in tracing the vacillations of German and Russian policy prior to the conclusion of the pact that the reader becomes most acutely aware of the fragmentary character of the selected material. The documents reveal some interesting details concerning the relations of the two powers. They establish the fact that Germany first suggested to the U.S.S.R. the forcible occupation of the Soviet share of Poland while the Polish campaign was still under way. They throw additional light on the surreptitious maneuvers of both countries in the Baltic and Balkan areas. And they show that Molotov's visit to Berlin in November, 1940, brought into the open the critical deterioration of Nazi-Soviet relations when he insisted, unsuccessfully, on concrete assurances concerning Germany's disinterestedness in Finland, Bulgaria, and Turkey. Later documents contain some new information on the background of the Russo-Japanese Neutrality Pact of April, 1941. The last section shows Moscow striving hard to avoid war. A letter from Hitler to Mussolini, included in this part, gives the basic reasons for the Nazi attack on the U.S.S.R. Attention should also be called to the reports of the German ambassador in Moscow, Count von der Schulenburg, which contain many an interesting observation on Russian policies and practices. The two editions of this publication were edited separately; the German edition is somewhat more fully indexed and annotated and includes facsimile reproductions of the original documents. The English translations are clear and accurate.

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

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RUSSIA AND SLAVIC EUROPE

Sergius Yakobson

THE WAR WE LOST: YUGOSLAVIA'S TRAGEDY AND THE FAILURE OF THE WEST. By *Constantin Fotitch*. (New York, Viking Press, 1948, pp. viii, 344, \$3.50.)

Mr. Fotitch, former Yugoslav ambassador to Washington (1935-46), at present political emigré and resident of the United States, renders his account of the country he served. The narrative covers the war years down to the time when "the curtain fell on Yugoslavia." The author is a staunch Serb nationalist who writes with proud partisanship and passionate fealty to the fallen Karageorgevitch dynasty. He has little patience with his political adversaries regardless of their cause or faith. He is neither willing nor able to admit for a moment that the Serbs failed in mastering the complex, heterogeneous war-born state. Fotitch writes in a tart style and with a bitter heart of the fateful war years from which, alas, he learned very little except to carry away a deeper contempt for political foes. The Roman Catholic Croats he simply cannot

stomach, while the events that led the Allies to abandon Mihailovitch in favor of Tito Fotitch draws with a pen that is dipped in venom. One cannot but admire the author's honesty and tenacity, though these do not always serve as evidence of his being right. Despite defeat Fotitch stands at his wrecked post undaunted. It is difficult to escape the feeling that there is something quixotic in the belligerency of Mr. Fotitch. His personal tragedy is synonymous with the tragedy of the state he defends: it emanates from bewilderment caused by postwar developments and continued intolerance toward any reasonable opposition. The sad drama is further broadened by the peculiar fact that Mr. Fotitch employs precisely the same terminology as his opponents without the slightest concern as to its political implications. He repeatedly refers to democracy, freedom, and individual rights, ignoring the fact that these were exactly the principles which the Karageorgevitch monarchy suppressed in the late thirties when a virtual dictatorship ruled the country. It was one of the fatal steps that marked the path to the downfall of the monarchy and, incidentally, perhaps one of the factors that contributed to the forcing of Mr. Fotitch to abandon his proud diplomatic career and take to writing as a dour emigré.

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Near Eastern History

Sidney Glazer

TRIAL AND ERROR: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF CHAIM WEIZMANN. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1949, pp. 493, \$5.00.) An event of unusual significance took place in ancient Jerusalem when Chaim Weizmann was inaugurated recently as the first president of the state of Israel. At this first constituent assembly, there was unanimous approval in the election of the man who had done most toward making the achievement of the new Israel possible. For those who desire to know this world personality and his era more intimately, the publication of Chaim Weizmann's autobiography is a rare opportunity for better understanding the man and the events that led to this new renaissance of the Jewish people. From a historical point of view, *Trial and Error* is invaluable not only for reflecting the story of a great statesman and scientist but also as dramatization, through an individual, of the history of the Jewish

people during the last half century. Here is the record of the strange journey out of the darkness of pogrom and ghetto of the East-European Jewish community, of a striving toward freedom from inner decay and outer paralysis by a man and his people. The transition from Motel, Weizmann's birthplace in Poland, to his recent acceptance of the presidency in Jerusalem mirrors the striving of the Jewish people toward freedom from persecution. The slow ascent from a pale of settlement, migration toward the free western countries of Europe and America, first steps in Zionism, in this instance the emergence of the scientist and world statesman—all this is the strange journey of a remarkable personality and a tenacious people toward freedom in the modern world. In the second place, the material of the volume is of importance in revealing that history does not deal in miracles or Aladdin's lamps. Many creative achievements in the Zionist movement can be ascribed to the strenuous efforts of Weizmann: the Balfour Declaration, the mandate system for Palestine, the Hebrew University, the Weizmann Institute at Rehovoth, the Jewish Agency. For this architect of a great idea, achieving a free state of Israel for his people meant the dedication of his life toward a cherished dream. A central figure in every scene of the great drama of the Zionist movement, Weizmann's role in the emergence of Israel dates from the earliest days of Herzl, intimate of its leading personalities, sharing the internal conflicts of its partisan groups, bearing the disillusionment of broken promises on the part of the mandate, Great Britain—all necessary stages in the slow organic growth of an idea. If there is a miracle in this historical episode, it is that of the great and constant faith of this man. This volume has its deepest significance, perhaps, in the plans formulated by Weizmann even before the realization of statehood for Israel. True, there are the great problems of immigration and defense, of splintered parties, of rapprochement with the Arab peoples, yet Weizmann is obsessed with the dream of building a high civilization in Israel. As a scientist, he seeks to utilize all financial and human resources toward making fruitful, through scientific research and development, a barren land. The solution of these problems challenge the future of the infant state. This book may serve as a preface to the new history of the Jewish people. For layman and student alike, it is a mine of rare interest.

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Far Eastern History

E. H. Pritchard

CHINA: THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE. By *Gerald F. Winfield*. (New York, William Sloane Associates, 1948, pp. vii, 437, \$5.00.) At the outset, it should be made clear that Winfield's *China* is not and was not intended to be a conventional historical study. There is, to be sure, a good deal of history in it, and there is a vast fund of data and interpretation which the historian will find of value. The author is an agricultural scientist who lived and worked in China during the thirteen years from 1932 to 1945. Few, if any, Americans have enjoyed a greater opportunity to know the conditions and the processes by which life is maintained in the vast countryside that is China. The result, as presented in this volume, is a careful and readable analysis of the daily problems of China's agricultural population, which, it should be remembered, means some eighty per cent of the Chinese people. Having presented this picture, Winfield proceeds in the second half of his book to set forth the broad outlines

of a plan for the rebuilding of a war-devastated, poverty-stricken, and sickly nation. Winfield's analysis of present-day China is systematic and comprehensive. A few of his significant findings may be noted. In agriculture, a vast population presses upon limited arable land; yields per acre are comparatively good but production per man is very low. "The food, clothing, and shelter of this vast rural population add up to one fact—poverty" (p. 82). In urban China industrial production remains essentially in the handicraft stage; trade and merchandizing are still dominated by guilds, while transportation is as yet largely dependent on human muscle. In terms of a nation's health, China's status is exceedingly low. There are about fifteen million deaths each year of which more than eleven million are due to preventable causes. Moreover, the dominating health and medical ideas held by the Chinese people are prescientific. Winfield's analysis of contemporary China adds up to a shocking complex of overpopulation and low standards of living. Yet the author is not one of those who despair of the outcome. Half of this study is devoted to what can be done about it and how it can be done. The basic solution is, he believes, in the social application of scientific technology. Winfield is well aware that the whole Chinese scene since World War II has been dominated politically by "a thoroughly ruthless struggle for power" between two groups. He does not condone the shortcomings of the Kuomintang but he does find its philosophy more palatable than that of the Communists, and more likely to preserve ultimate goals that are democratic and useful to the Chinese. The salvation of China, however, will belong to those forces, domestic and foreign, which produce in China more sanitation, an expanding agricultural production, an industrialization which will permit industry to meet the needs of agriculture, yet at the same time an industrialization in which population will be controlled. Finally, Winfield points to the fact that these things cannot be achieved without a form of education to which as yet China is largely a stranger. *China: The Land and the People* is one of the most illuminating books in our recent literature on the Far East.

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United States History

Richard J. Purcell

GENERAL

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PLACE NAME LITERATURE: UNITED STATES, CANADA, ALASKA, AND NEWFOUNDLAND. By Richard B. Sealock and Pauline A. Seely. (Chicago, American Library Association, 1948, pp. 331, \$4.50.) In this bibliography the authors have brought together everything they could find, published or in manuscript form, dealing with American place names north of the Mexican border. The resulting collection of entries shows numerous angles of approach to the subject: studies on derivations from the Indian and European languages; investigations on geographical and historical significance of place names; popular sketches and books; graduate theses; dictionaries and handbooks; and scholarly investigations with recommendations for improved procedure. The volume serves admirably the primary aim expressed by the authors, to provide a work for convenient reference. An examination of it leads one to the inescapable conclusion that in spite of 261 pages of listings, very few careful, consistent, reliable works have been produced. Using this bibliography as a point of departure, students in linguistics can proceed to a more serious and scientific cataloguing of American place names. Entries in the volume are arranged alphabetically under country and state. There is a detailed subject and author index.

ALICE E. SMITH, *State Historical Society of Wisconsin*

JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY. By James Thomas Flexner. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1948, pp. xv, 139, plates, \$7.50.) Flexner's *John Singleton Copley* is a slightly revised and slightly expanded version of his chapter dealing with that artist in his *America's Old Masters*, published by the Viking Press in 1939. For those who have read and enjoyed his *America's Old Masters* or *First Flowers of Our Wilderness*, this monograph on Copley will prove to be a great disappointment. It is written largely for the lay

person with little knowledge of and a mild curiosity in American art. Its best features lie in its complete bibliography and its illustrations, which are beautifully reproduced. With its double-spaced type and wide margins, it is what might have been termed in the 1840's "a pretty gift book." The interest in Copley aroused by the two major exhibitions held, in connection with the bicentennial of his birth, in New York and Boston in 1937-38, culminating in the excellent *catalogue raisonné* of his American works by Parker and Wheeler published by the Museum of Fine Arts in 1938, prepared the way for a definitive biography of America's first major figure in the fine arts. Unfortunately this is still to be written, for, although the author successfully creates a social, political, and economic picture of Boston in Copley's day as a background for the portrait, one feels that he fails in his portrayal of the artist—largely because he saddles him with a series of twentieth century neuroses. The essence of any definitive biography of an artist lies in the artistic evaluation of his works. One feels that the author, feeling insecure in his artistic evaluation, takes refuge in banal remarks. For instance, when he describes the portrait of Mrs. Benjamin Pickman, he says that "the total face is that of a not too attractive matron who will, unless she is careful of her diet, soon be much too fat." And further, "Harvard's portrait of Prof. John Winthrop is a frightening rendition of that modern version of a Christian martyr, a scientific fanatic. We know that this astronomer would sacrifice his wife, his children, and even himself to a new observation on the transit of Venus. . . . Mrs. Paul Richard (Plate 15) shows us an old lady, who is far from beautiful, but could certainly get the best of a Countess by Reynolds when it comes to horse trading." Although such treatment is in the prevailing style of some recent writers in the field of art history, it is a sad commentary upon the present-day publishers' attitudes toward art history when the writer is forced to stoop to vulgarizing the subject in order to make it palatable for an indiscriminating audience. At times the work appears to be superficial. There is a statement to the effect that Copley soon abandoned miniature painting "as bringing too low a price for his increasing fame"; yet the account books of Paul Revere record the making of gold and silver frames for Copley's miniatures from 1763 to 1767, the crowning years of Copley's American period. The illustrations, by and large, are well selected, but one wishes that Copley's most typical American portrait, steeped in the realistic tradition of American colonial painting—that of Paul Revere—had been included. It is not even mentioned in the text.

JOHN MARSHALL PHILLIPS, *Yale University*

FROM COLONY TO NATION: AN EXHIBITION OF AMERICAN PAINTING, SILVER, AND ARCHITECTURE FROM 1650 TO THE WAR OF 1812. (Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago, 1949, pp. 140, \$2.00.) The students of the history of the arts in America will certainly see this noteworthy publication in their field. Its publication is recorded here for the benefit of the historians dealing with colonial and early national history in almost any of its aspects. The brochure with its reproductions should give them new insights into their period and a conviction that colonial interest was not wholly absorbed in Indian affairs, quarrels with colonial governors, stamp taxes, and Calvinism. The editors, Frederick A. Sweet and Hans Huth on painting, Meyric R. Rogers on silverware, and Turpin C. Bannister on architecture, have furnished adequate notes and brief interpretive essays. They had the advantage of an exhibit enriched by loans from widely scattered museums and private collections.

G.S.F.

THE WAR OF 1812. By *Francis F. Beirne*. (New York, E. P. Dutton, 1949, pp. 410, \$5.00.) Without making any pretensions to original scholarship Mr. Beirne, an

associate editor of the Baltimore *Sun*, has written a spirited and interesting narrative of the War of 1812, especially in its military and naval aspects. While the book (obviously designed for the layman) is undocumented, the author acknowledges a heavy debt to Henry Adams' *History of the United States* and to Benjamin J. Lossing's *Pictorial Field Book of the War of 1812*. His bibliography presents a fairly good array of the more familiar sources, primary and secondary, but one wonders why he omitted, among other items, R. B. McAfee's *History of the Late War in the Western Country* and C. W. Elliott's *Winfield Scott*. Mr. Beirne is at his best in writing of battles on land and sea. His account of Jackson's New Orleans campaign, for instance, is one of the clearest and most vigorous that this reviewer has seen. His estimate of the military and naval leaders is fair. The politics and economics of the war he touches lightly and conventionally. The degree of his grasp of the maritime controversies leading to the war is suggested by the statement, "There was a law known as the 'Rule of 1756,' accepted by all nations . . ." (pp. 17-18). But it would perhaps be too much to ask that a popular book which deals so well with the war's military side should be equally adequate in other respects. Whether as original intention or afterthought, Mr. Beirne has given his story, at the end, a propagandist twist. In his preface he avows a purpose of "bringing up to date events which happened long ago but which have an important bearing on the happenings of today." What that bearing is he reveals in his conclusion. Unpreparedness involved us in the war in the first place by giving the impression that we would not defend our rights; and when war came, unpreparedness subjected us to invasion, defeats, and disasters. In World Wars I and II, though likewise inviting trespass through unpreparedness, we had friends to hold the front line while we armed. This was not true in 1812 and may not be true "next time." The lesson is obvious. Mr. Beirne does not exaggerate or overemphasize the weaknesses and failures of 1812-1814. He does not need to. Told just as they were they point his moral.

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AMERICAN TOBACCO AND CENTRAL EUROPEAN POLICY: EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *Sister Mary Anthonita Hess*, of the Congregation of the Sisters of the Precious Blood, Salem Heights, Dayton, Ohio. (Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1948, pp. x, 199.) During and immediately after the Revolution, as in the colonial period, tobacco was the most marketable commodity produced in the states. The removal of British restrictions on the trade and the extension of the culture of the plant to new areas, especially in Kentucky and Tennessee, might have been expected to bring about a tobacco boom, but nothing of the sort happened. Between 1790 and 1840 total production hardly rose above the figure for the late colonial period—about 100,000,000 pounds—and the price varied little except during a brief period after the War of 1812. Among the factors causing this situation may be included the tobacco monopolies enforced by various European governments, the development of local sources of supply in other countries, and the failure of the United States to establish satisfactory commercial relations with foreign governments. These are the problems discussed by the author in this volume. The subject matter is broader than the title indicates, for the first two chapters deal with the colonial period, and the third is devoted largely to the period of the Revolution and the Confederation. The fourth chapter gets well into the subject of tobacco diplomacy and discusses the treaties negotiated with the Hanse Towns, and with Prussia and Austria in 1827, 1828, and 1829 respectively. In 1835 Henry Wheaton was appointed chargé d'affaires to Prussia, this being the first regular diplomatic agent sent to any Central European country. The panic of 1837 caused the tobacco growers of Maryland to bestir themselves and Daniel Jenifer succeeded in getting Congress to pass resolutions

requesting the President to use diplomatic means to better the tobacco trade. As a result of this agitation, a minister was sent to Austria, a chargé to Naples, and a treaty was negotiated with Sardinia in 1838. Because of the government monopolies and other factors, these moves did little to improve the tobacco trade, but they represent the beginnings of our diplomatic relations with Central Europe. Sister Mary Anthonita's dissertation is a meticulously prepared work—a first-rate piece of research and writing. The footnotes and bibliography are extensive, and the appendixes supply much useful information. On page 7 the date should be 1763 instead of 1776, and on page 79 the word apparently should be "prevent" instead of "present," but despite these slips the attention paid to detail is obvious throughout the volume.

THOMAS PERKINS ABERNETHY, *University of Virginia*

A PRINCE IN THEIR MIDST: THE ADVENTUROUS LIFE OF ACHILLE MURAT ON THE AMERICAN FRONTIER. By *A. J. Hanna*. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1946, pp. xi, 275, \$3.00.) How Achille Murat, nephew of Napoleon, son of the king of Naples Joachim Murat, came to the United States as a refugee at the age of twenty-two, became a planter in Florida, a staunch champion of the republican system of government, a county judge, and after many strange and varied experiences, including a return to Europe, was finally buried in St. Johns Cemetery at Tallahassee, has been vividly recounted by Professor A. J. Hanna. With great industry, the author has explored the archives of Italy, France, Austria, and America and consulted many private collections. He has brought together the results of his investigations in a volume which has "a fourfold purpose, to relate the story of a unique refugee in the United States, to record his response to American life, to extend the Bonaparte saga, and to reconstruct a picture of the Southern frontier." It seems that all the "facts" of Murat's life have been ascertained from reliable sources, and that most of his mistresses have been listed. Altogether the book is easy and pleasant to read. The total result, however, is not a full-length portrait of this extraordinary character. One will particularly miss a full discussion of Murat's *Esquisse morale et politique des Etats-Unis de l'Amérique* (Paris, 1832), and *Exposition du gouvernement républicain tel qu'il a été proposé en Amérique* (Paris, 1833). Granting that a detailed analysis of these political treatises would have interrupted the flow of the narrative, it remains that both provide an insight into the psychology of a "prince" who, in the words of the author, became "an apostle of freedom, entitled to admission in the Lafayette and Jackson school." One may also regret that the long enumeration of the libraries consulted does not contain any indication of the material they preserve, although the historian will derive some small comfort from the statement that "detailed citations covering the use of all materials in this biography, with copies and some originals of many letters and documents used, have been filed in the Murat Collection of the Rollins College Library, Winter Park, Florida" (p. 256). Mr. John Rae's sketches illustrating the volume are picturesque, but a few good photographs would satisfy more fully the curiosity of the reader. It is to be hoped that after this biography, obviously intended for the general public, Professor Hanna will find a way to make available to a more restricted audience some of the very important documents he has unearthed.

GILBERT CHINARD, *Princeton University*

AS LUCK WOULD HAVE IT: CHANCE AND COINCIDENCE IN THE CIVIL WAR. By *Otto Eisenschiml* and *E. B. Long*. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1948, pp. 285, \$3.00.) This thoroughly readable little volume, like Mr. Eisenschiml's earlier writings, demonstrates wide knowledge of the sources and an interest in circumstantial evidence and suppositious events. It consists of fifteen chapters or essays each giving

a close-up view of an episode of the Civil War period and seeks to show that "some lucky or unlucky incident, insignificant in itself, has often led to unexpected denouements, thereby changing the course of important events." The authors recognize that the *ifs* of history can not be proved but they express the hope that their conclusions will be found plausible. No one will question their conclusion that if General Grant had been killed at the battle of Belmont he would not have been elected President in 1868 or that if Manuel Antonio Chavez had been executed for treason in 1847 he could not have aided Colonel E. R. S. Canby win the battle of Apache Canyon during the Civil War. Much less plausible are the conclusions that if Fitzhugh Lee had not been assigned to the Second United States Cavalry Regiment upon graduation from West Point there would probably have been no battle of Gettysburg and that if a New York dressmaker had not been behind schedule with his costumes for Laura Keane's theater in 1858 President Lincoln would not have been assassinated in Ford's Theater seven years later. The long and complicated factual sequences upon which these conclusions are based are too tenuous to be convincing. Perhaps these conclusions should not be taken too seriously, for the authors present the volume as a historian's holiday. Their thesis has furnished them an opportunity for an interesting review of a series of colorful events and as such it is worth while and enjoyable.

BRainerd DYER, *University of California, Los Angeles*

ADMIRALS OF AMERICAN EMPIRE: THE COMBINED STORY OF GEORGE DEWEY, ALFRED THAYER MAHAN, WINFIELD SCOTT SCHLEY, AND WILLIAM THOMAS SAMPSON. By *Richard S. West, Jr.* (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1948, pp. 354, \$4.00.) In writing on the four naval officers in his chosen manner, the author has achieved a far more valuable book than if he had written four consecutive essays. Dr. West, associate professor in the department of English, history, and government at the United States Naval Academy, has given an exceedingly graphic picture of each individual. But, in the single narrative, he has contrived to combine the four careers into a reasonably complete account of the United States Navy from the Civil War to the Spanish-American War. In less capable hands the result might well have been neither biography nor history. But quite some time ago Dr. West established himself as a naval biographer and historian of the first rank with his *Gideon Welles: Lincoln's Navy Department* and *The Second Admiral*, his life of David Dixon Porter. His adroit handling of the subject has caused his book to be used for that period with marked satisfaction in a large course in the history of American sea power at a leading eastern university. Any reader particularly interested in the Spanish-American War will relish the lively narrative of that outbreak of imperialism, which takes up a large part of the whole volume. The view of the Sampson-Schley controversy will undoubtedly please those who favor the man who was on the spot as much as it will distress those who favor the man responsible for the carefully laid plans for Santiago. In the book are a few terms strangely lacking the proper nautical flavor one would expect of work done in the shadow of Bancroft Hall, but they detract not at all from a first-rate book.

ROBERT M. LUNNY, *Washington, D. C.*

AMERICANS FROM HUNGARY. By *Emil Lengyel*. [The Peoples of America Series.] (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott, 1948, pp. 319, \$4.00.) The chapters of Mr. Lengyel's book are of varying merit. The descriptions he gives of Jewish families who came through Hungary to America are little gems. The author is human, sympathetic, jubilant at success, awed by tragedy in these passages. In contrast, his accounts of the failures of Kossuth's heroic companions are cold, cynical, and the treatment of "Mis-

trepreneur Hungary" is sneering. Mr. Lengyel left Hungary as a young man. Hence he cannot be expected to understand fully the country where he happened to be born. It is, however, regrettable that he recounts stale clichés of anti-Hungarian propaganda. One such is the absurdity that peasants constantly expected blows from anyone in city clothes and in evidence he offers a story of personal experience: he visited a farm and a peasant child fled at his sight! Not all of Mr. Lengyel's statements indicate such a low estimate of the reader's judgment. Generally, he is more subtle. For example, he makes a statement concerning the low wages of the peasant. But he creates an unfair picture of the situation, omitting that the alleged oppressors of the peasants, the officials, earned ridiculously low wages too. Nor does he mention the absurdly low sum for which gifted Jewish lads like himself could obtain a good university education at state expense. Hungarian liberals planned to give an opportunity to Jews persecuted in Eastern Europe. The result of this—not mere "chance"—is the galaxy of Jewish talents, issued from the favorable atmosphere created by Hungarians, so long as these were masters of their souls and their own land, *i.e.*, until the Trianon treaty. The best pages of Lengyel's book are those in which he tells about Jews, who have never repudiated the harassed nation which mothered them as long as it could. They tried to help Hungary and Hungarians. Such people have a right to claim Hungarian origin: they are better additions to America, too, than people who merely passed through Hungary. IDA BOBULA, *Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania*

- A HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION, 1847 TO 1947. By Morris Fishbein, M.D. (Philadelphia, W. B. Saunders, 1947, pp. xvi, 1226, \$10.00.) Few, if any, professional organizations have exerted so potent an influence as has the American Medical Association. Progressive in scientific matters but conservative in social outlook, this body is now best known to the public for its opposition to compulsory health insurance. Unfortunately, its success in advancing scientific interests and in improving professional services are little known outside of medical circles. A critical history of the association might balance these popular impressions, and would certainly be welcomed for the light it could throw on scientific and professional experience in this country during the past century. The present work, however, is not a critical study; it is rather a collection of information about the association's past and a defense of its policies. The volume consists of three parts: first, a "History" by Morris Fishbein; second, biographical sketches of past presidents by Walter L. Bierring; and third, brief accounts by various authors of the association's councils, bureaus, and publications. Dr. Fishbein provides in the "History" a chronicle of year-by-year developments, based largely on the *Transactions* and other official sources and also—for the recent period—on his own intimate knowledge of professional affairs. The account lacks continuity and is one-sided, since Dr. Fishbein—as a long-time leader of the association—naturally defends its policies instead of viewing them with detachment. At the same time, he summarizes masses of information and provides insights into attitudes within the organization itself. Hence his work will be most useful in the preparation of the integrated and objective history of the association which still remains to be written. Much the same thing may be said of the biographical sketches and of the accounts of bureaus and councils. The biographies are eulogistic, but they rescue many physicians from oblivion. Some of the accounts of special bodies and of publications are especially valuable, since these groups and the journals accomplished much in their respective fields. Their records are not easily available and have heretofore received little interpretation. In general, then, this centennial volume is hardly a "history" as historians use that term. But it does provide a massive reference work which will be of service to contemporary physicians and to future historians. RICHARD HARRISON SHRYOCK, *University of Pennsylvania*

ARTHUR TWINING HADLEY. By *Morris Hadley*. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1948, pp. 282, \$3.75.) If the criterion of a biography is the success with which the author makes the reader feel the very presence and personality of the subject, then surely Morris Hadley is entitled to top rank for this vivid story of his father's life. Rare skill is shown in mixing objective appraisal with affectionate insight in just the right proportions to show the many-sided individual whose parents and relatives deliberated lengthily and whimsically before naming him Arthur Twining Hadley. Wisely, Morris Hadley draws freely on the books, letters, speeches, and papers of Arthur Hadley. In these writings the characteristics which it is so delightful in these drab days to see revealed are the great zest for life, the unflagging interest in its every phase and phenomenon, the sincere liking for all people. The biographer must be charged with one lapse—the failure to let the reader know by what necromancy Dr. Hadley succeeded in living so full a life. To be sure, a remarkable memory, a lightning-fast reading speed, a power of instant perception and unbreakable concentration, do account for prodigious productivity in his special fields of scholarship, teaching, business, and university administration. But how did such an intellectual giant find time to be also such a warm, vital, witty, and lovable human being? Perhaps Morris Hadley is not to be blamed for not giving us the answer; perhaps this question is the only one that could have challenged the great Arthur Hadley himself. More likely, however, he would have met this challenge quite as easily as that of his dinner host in Berlin who asked him to identify a wine which had just been served. Hadley tasted carefully, easily recognized the year and the general district, but could not name the vineyard. He added, however, that this wine was markedly reminiscent of three well-known vineyards, which he named. Thereupon the host and his guests rose excitedly and drank Hadley's health for his remarkable feat in naming the three vineyards which bounded the private vineyard from which the wine came but from which no wine had ever reached the public. Even to the reviewer, who was a student at Yale during Hadley's presidency, this biography brings a fuller understanding of his great stature and achievements; and all readers, whether chiefly interested in economics, a university, a period, or a man, will find themselves fascinated by the magnetism of the father which permeates a son's modest history.

RICHARD R. SMITH, *New York City*

THE LIBERAL PRESIDENTS: A STUDY OF THE LIBERAL TRADITION IN THE AMERICAN PRESIDENCY. By *J. C. Long*. (New York, Thomas Y. Crowell, 1948, pp. 226, \$3.75.) The theme of this book is an ambitious and interesting one—"to show how the American liberal tradition has grown and to what extent the presidency has expressed or promoted the evolving phases of liberalism." In the course of working out his theme, Mr. Long contributes an occasional insight or suggestive reorientation of well-known facts. But the book as a whole leaves the reader in a state of confusion, frustration, and irritation. It defines liberalism so loosely and in so many different ways that most of its main points are rendered unacceptable, unimportant, or even unintelligible. The introductory chapter, a "Preview of the Liberal Tradition," begins the confusion. In this chapter, liberalism is at times a state of mind; at times any departure from the past that represents the "trend of the era"; at times a set of specific policies for the solution of specific problems. The chapters treating selected presidential administrations compound the confusion. Actions or attitudes which Mr. Long admires are called liberal no matter how contradictory they may be; no adequate recognition is given to the fact that liberalism has meant very different things during different periods of American history. Thus, Presidents as diverse in their policies as Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Hayes, and the

two Roosevelts all become "outstanding liberal beacons," and beacons of the same liberalism. The confusion is completed by an appendix of eighteen state papers, some of which are "liberal" only if virtually any major document of American history is "liberal." Since *The Liberal Presidents* is drawn entirely from printed sources, the book offers no new materials to the historian. Its persistent and flagrant confusion of its basic concept strips the work of interpretative significance. *The Liberal Presidents* serves chiefly as a warning—a warning which is of special importance now that scholarship is concerning itself intensively with the "liberal" phases of American history. The word "liberal" is one of the most dangerous booby-traps in the language. Failure to define the word carefully or to adhere consistently to the definition is certain to muddle any historical work and may, as in the case of *The Liberal Presidents*, ruin it.

ERIC F. GOLDMAN, *Princeton University*

THE ROOSEVELT COURT: A STUDY IN JUDICIAL POLITICS AND VALUES, 1937-1947. By *C. Herman Pritchett*, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Chicago. (New York, Macmillan, 1948, pp. xvi, 314, \$5.00.) This is one of the most useful volumes on the modern Supreme Court which has yet appeared. In the first place it contains the cumulative results of Professor Pritchett's interesting and unique statistical analysis of the non-unanimous opinions of the court during eleven annual terms from 1936 to 1947. During this period the number of cases in which the justices were divided rose from nineteen to sixty-four per cent of the total. Thus the court has supplied Pritchett with plenty of grist for his mill. No attempt can be made in this brief review to indicate the statistical methods used or the nature of the findings. While expert statisticians may find fault with Pritchett for errors of commission or omission, his analysis is continuously interesting to the general student of the court. It should be noted, however, that the author's findings do not lead him to join the ranks of those critics who have been berating the court for the uncertainty which its divided opinions have introduced into constitutional law. "Basically the dissents and the concurrences which characterize the Roosevelt Court reflect the conflicts of a society faced with unprecedented new problems of public policy and the deadly earnest in which the Court is considering proposed solutions" (p. 52). Secondly, this is a useful book because of its excellent analysis of the subject matter of court opinions during the last decade. In five chapters in the middle of the book the leading cases in the areas of economic regulation, civil liberties, criminal justice, administrative procedure, and labor-management relations are discussed in thorough, easy-to-understand, and accurate fashion. No better brief summary of the constitutional law of the last decade can be found anywhere. Finally, the book is studded with wise insights into the nature of judicial review and the business of the Supreme Court. Professor Pritchett, like other present scholars of the court, is fortunate in being able to stand on the shoulders of such men as Beard, Corwin, Cushman, Haines, and Powell. But his judgments are his own and, in this reviewer's opinion, no one has yet done a better job of catching the true meaning of the Supreme Court's role as an instrumentality of government, or of putting that meaning into striking yet comprehensible language.

ROBERT K. CARR, *Dartmouth College*

HAWAII: A HISTORY, FROM POLYNESIAN KINGDOM TO AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH. By *Ralph S. Kuykendall* and *A. Grove Day*. (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1948, pp. x, 331, \$3.00.) The last thirty years or so have produced many books relating to Hawaii, some bristling with racial or political prejudice, some belonging to the surf and palm-tree school in its most exaggerated form. Neither class is particularly helpful. There are books written in a temperate strain also, some with a high

degree of scholarship, but nearly all of these deal with some special aspect of Hawaiian history or culture and many are aimed exclusively at the specialist mind. There is need for a book of moderate size covering all phases of Hawaiian development, scholarly in substance, popular in form, suited to the intelligent general reader. Of the two authors of this book, one has published (among other writings) the first volume of a monumental history of Hawaii based upon about as exhaustive research as has ever been devoted to any subject. The other, though new to this special field, is experienced in historical work. Both are professors in the University of Hawaii. Their competency is assured in advance and perusal of a few pages shows that they are able to tell their story in highly readable form. Attached to a thread of political history is an account of Hawaii's development in agriculture, industry, religion, education, government—the whole field of its civilization. The proper proportion of subjects is a matter of personal taste—this reviewer would have liked a little more of political and constitutional history—but no topic is neglected. This short review cannot list all passages of special note, but I would commend to your attention the pungent account of the corruption of King Kalakaua's reign, generally slighted by American historians studying the background of the annexation movement. It will enable you to understand the brief hope and ultimate despair of attaining honest government under his successor, which led even previously loyal supporters of the monarchy to join in its overthrow. One third of the text is devoted to the period since annexation. This extensive treatment is fortunate under the circumstances. The local history of a small fraction of the United States has not the fascination of a national history, even of a miniature nation, so that accounts of Hawaii in its territorial status are inadequate and frequently biased. The description of the military despotism imposed by Washington on the territory during the war should be pondered deeply. That it was declared unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court, after the war was over, is small consolation to those who lived under it. There are some useful statistical tables at the end of the text, an extensive though not critical bibliography and a very full index. This book is a model of its kind. It may serve as the complete Hawaiian collection of a little public library or as an introduction to the resources of a large one or a university.

THOMAS M. SPAULDING, *Washington, D. C.*

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

HISTORY OF NAUGATUCK, CONNECTICUT. By *Constance McL. Green*, Director of Research, Smith College Council of Industrial Studies. (Naugatuck, sponsored by Chamber of Commerce and printed under direction of Yale University Press, New Haven, 1948, pp. xii, 331, \$5.00.) The traveler passing through the Naugatuck Valley on his way to the Berkshires probably sees Naugatuck as only one of a series of rather unattractive factory towns, differing little from its neighbors. Nevertheless, the fact that its citizens have sponsored this history is evidence of their belief that it has a distinctive personality of its own. That this belief has a sounder basis than merely civic pride will readily be admitted by any native son, including those who migrated from the town long ago (as did the present reviewer). Instead of having the history written by an old resident, the sponsors wisely chose a competent historian who could approach the task with a fresh and unbiased viewpoint and deal with the evidence objectively. Fortunately, Mrs. Green proved to be also a penetrating and sympathetic interpreter. In her hands the book became something more than the usual

chronicle of local families and events. It is a fascinating study of the evolution of a New England town, and as such a valuable contribution to economic history. Necessarily the story includes the achievements of individual citizens but refrains from laudatory overemphasis, even upon those like Charles Goodyear, J. H. Whittemore, and Peter Paul (Halajian) who attained more than local fame. The emphasis is rather upon the various stages of town industry and life, with the gradual transition from small-scale production of rubber goods, cotton, buttons, iron, cutlery, tools, etc., by hand craftsmanship and water power, to its later use of steam power and the assembly line, and its newer industries of precision instruments and chemicals. Naugatuck's history shows remarkable adaptability to changes in economic conditions. Something of this is also shown in the evolution of its population, as the town absorbed successive waves of immigration—English, Irish, German, Italian, Scandinavians, and Slavs—and converted them into Naugatuckers. While the melting-pot process was not so easy and simple as it now seems in retrospect, Naugatuck was fortunate in achieving it without loss of the unity and individuality that characterized the community. Although industrial developments bulk large in Mrs. Green's history, it does not fail to do justice to the anonymous Yankee peddlers who share with the inventors and manufacturers the credit for industrial growth; nor does it overlook the contributions of the teachers, ministers, and other professional elements. Both in its physical format and in its balanced contents, the book might be taken as a model for future town histories.

G. B. HOTCHKISS, *New York University*

THE MARYLAND GERMANS: A HISTORY. By *Dieter Cunz*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1948, pp. xi, 476, \$5.00.) Throughout much of American history Maryland has been second only to Pennsylvania as the new home of immigrating Germans. Their influence in Maryland, colony as well as state, is evident both in the development of the frontier in western Maryland and in the rise of the city of Baltimore. As in the case of Pennsylvania, the Germans of Maryland have shown a deep interest in their past as a group. There have resulted numerous studies of a genealogical or an antiquarian nature, and others broader in their approach but limited in chronological or geographic scope. This is the first history, however, of the Germans throughout the history of Maryland. Professor Cunz's primary focus is on the impact of America on the Germans; he is much less concerned with the impact of the Germans on America. As he says in the introduction, he is "concerned with immigration, settlements, some outstanding individuals, and especially with the problem of Americanization." Not only the immigrant generation in any period but also each of the succeeding two generations receives his attention. Beyond the third generation he finds the German bloodstream so diluted and outlook so altered as to put them beyond the scope of such a study. Professor Cunz divides his study into three parts: "The Colonial Period, 1640-1790," "The Middle Ages of Immigration, 1790-1865," and "The Last Generations, 1865-1940." The Germans of the colonial period were *Kirchendeutsche*, concentrated in western Maryland and Americanized by 1815. In the second and third eras German immigration centered in Baltimore and constituted *Vereinsdeutsche*. Assimilation proceeded more slowly in these generations but was completed once and for all by the impact of two world wars which put to rest the "German-Americanism" that characterized the years from about 1860 to 1914. "The Last Generations" are not only the most recent but also the final ones. Objectivity, not always a characteristic of studies of national groups, is maintained throughout this work, which is characterized by careful and most extensive research in a body of materials for which the author has a rare competence as a professor of German at the University of Maryland. Very full documentation, an excellent bibliography, and

occasional translations of excerpts from sources interspersed through the text increase the value of this study.

WILLIAM R. STECKEL, *Stanford University*

HENRY A. WARD, MUSEUM BUILDER TO AMERICA. By *Roswell Ward*. [The Rochester Historical Society Publications, XXIV.] (Rochester, the Society, 1948, pp. xxiv, 297.) The grandson of the subject has made an interesting story out of the bizarre career of a man who built a passion for collecting fossils into an international business in supplying museums with everything from mussel shells to megatheria. When Jumbo was killed, it was Ward who got the contract to mount him for further exploitation by P. T. Barnum. Museum skeletons are not the only ones handled in the book. The book rattles with a number of them in the family closet. Why the gullible Rochester citizens who invested and lost in Ward's enterprises did not run him out of town is a mystery. His mother knew how to keep his father from returning to Rochester. A cousin was the Ward who traded on the name of U. S. Grant and brought him to bankruptcy. And yet Ward's restless, unending travels (he never returned home when he could think of a new place to go) laid the basis for some of the richest cabinet and museum collections in America. Such a man and such a career was possible only in the United States, if that means anything. The author knows how to tell a story that compounds Ward's zeal for natural history, his salesmanship, and his mania for travel and collection into a plausible claim on the interest of the reader. Incidentally, it is well to note that the Rochester Historical Society is carrying on a noteworthy program of publication and should have its share of credit.

G.S.F.

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

ROMANTICISM AND NATIONALISM IN THE OLD SOUTH. By Rollin G. Osterweis, Research Assistant in History and Fellow of Jonathan Edwards College, Yale University. [Yale Historical Publications, Miscellany, XLIX.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1949, pp. x, 275, \$3.75.) As one of the older school of research workers, this reviewer rejoices to note a young historical scholar striking out into a new field—in this instance into the field of ideas—and to observe the skill with which he seeks out the media in which he must work. The writer of the volume under review is, indeed, not a pathfinder, for W. J. Cash in *The Mind of the South* and Clement Eaton in *Freedom of Thought in the Old South* have pointed the way, but Mr. Osterweis has definitely applied historical techniques to the solution of a problem in the realm of ideas. This problem—how the South came to insist on creation of a separate nation—has long awaited an answer. While the writer may not have supplied the complete answer, he does offer helpful suggestions in marshaling for us much of the state of mind of the Southerners during the period of formation of that mind, 1815-1860, as it manifested itself in various parts of the South. The reviewer commends the definition of romanticism given in an appendix, for reader and writer alike are lost unless they can meet on a common ground of understanding exactly what the writer means by the expression. The writer organizes his material in three parts: (I) "The Emergence of Southern Romanticism," (II) "The Nature of Southern Romanticism," and (III) "The Significance of Southern Romanticism." In Part II he shows that while romanticism appeared in all parts of the South, it assumed varying forms in the different parts. The conclusions drawn in Part III are, on the whole, thoughtful and sound. If the organization is subject to criticism at any point, it is, in the judgment of this reviewer, in placing the discussion of Gulf Coast imperialism where it stands when it might possibly more naturally be placed at the end of Part II as the final preliminaries before the culmination in the movement for separate nation-

hood. The bibliographical note is very full and carefully classified, indicating that the writer has searched his field adequately. A new worker in the field can easily discern what valuable grist is to be found in periodical literature in reconstructing past states of mind. The reviewer wishes especially to comment on the attractive style in which the book is written. In the picture of a tournament at White Sulphur Springs on August 27, 1845, with which it opens, it has a genuine literary flavor.

ELLA LONN, *Baltimore, Maryland*

FORSYTH: A COUNTY ON THE MARCH. By *Adelaide L. Fries, et al.* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1949, pp. 248, \$3.50.) When a county history is so well done by the collaboration of a group of competent local historians, it merits a word of commendation. Forsyth County is best known to the outer world by its tobacco industries and its county seat, Winston-Salem. The chief editor and contributor to the volume is Miss Adelaide L. Fries, who has done such notable work in editing and publishing the records of the Moravian community. It is with this group in Salem that the history of the county begins. The story is told clearly and concisely. Sentimentalism, local chauvinism, and antiquarianism have no part in it, and the Civil War is an incident. The two urban communities, joined in 1913 in one city with a present population approaching 100,000 are given their central place in the story, but rural towns and the farming area are by no means slighted. The University of North Carolina Press has given the volume an attractive format and Joe King's jacket design is a pictured summary of Forsyth County's history. G.S.F.

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

DETROIT'S FIRST AMERICAN DECADE, 1796 TO 1805. By *F. Clever Bald*. [University of Michigan Publications, History and Political Science, Volume XVI.] (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1948, pp. xi, 276, \$4.50.) To select a period of only ten years out of Detroit's two hundred and fifty would seem at first glance to be an arbitrary and insignificant bite. However, the decade chosen is both a natural and important division of time. It opens with the end of foreign dominion over the town in 1796 and ends with the simultaneous establishment of Michigan Territory and the complete destruction of Detroit by fire in 1805. This focus on a short period of time permits the author to examine carefully all aspects of life in the vicinity: governmental, military, economic, religious, cultural, and domestic. Such concentration has produced a pageant of local history. This book demonstrates that local history can be thorough without being tedious, authoritative without sacrificing homely incidents, balanced, and colorful. It is local history, furthermore, with an international circumference. Having sketched topically the scene as it was in 1796, the author changes his treatment to a strictly chronological presentation. Every aspect of life is discussed in each chapter and advanced a year in time. Consequently, each chapter is subdivided into several numbered sections. It is as if Dr. Bald had lived in Detroit those ten years and kept a diary. The history of Detroit unfolds as it did to the people living there at the time, and the reader identifies himself closely with the story. Inevitably, such treatment tends to be jerky by the refusal to finish a development once started until the proper year and month arrive in a later chapter. The author has sacrificed the advantage he had of perspective, of knowing what was going to happen and why. Instead of a bibliographical checklist, Dr. Bald has appended a bibliographical essay. The book is indexed and contains ten full-page illustrations plus two maps.

HOWARD H. PECKHAM, *Indiana Historical Bureau*

NO MAN'S LAND. By *Carl Coke Rister*. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1948, pp. xi, 210, \$3.00.) With facile pen, Dr. Rister, a true son of the great Southwest, has recorded the saga of "No Man's Land." This region comprised the three counties of the "Oklahoma Panhandle," a portion of the American Great Plains, which by a quirk of fortune was long without the pale of legalized procedures, since Congress failed to include it within the area of any of the adjoining organized jurisdictions. Originally the home of Indians and the buffalo, the former were driven off and the latter were exterminated by indiscriminate slaughter. Squatters came, stock ranges were formed, and towns were settled in the decades following 1870 and 1880. Lawlessness played its role, violence and murder occurred with frequency, the vigilantes rode, and fruitless appeals for a stabilized and orderly regime were made to Congress. Then came the era of wheat which served to end the ranges. There were ups and downs of prosperity; there was often the struggle to survive; and there was the development of the social life of the community. In 1883, 1886, and other years, terrific winds sprang from the north to drive men underground. The opening of Oklahoma to settlement caused shifts in population and at last the region became counties of the state. Wheat had so depleted and dried the soil that, by the 1920's and 1930's, the former "No Man's Land" became a dust bowl. The chapter headings are suggestive, beginning with "God's Land, but No Man's," "Don't Go out 'Thar,'" and ending with "Sowing the Wind" and "Reaping the Whirlwind." A bibliography indicates the manuscripts, public documents, newspapers, periodicals, and books on which the study is based. The volume presents an interesting segment of Oklahoma history and is a valuable contribution to southwestern historiography.

ROSCOE R. HILL, *Washington, D. C.*

THE TEXAS STORY. By *Ralph W. Steen*. (Austin, Tex., Steck, 1948, pp. ix, 451, \$3.50.) Ralph W. Steen, professor of history at the Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas, has written an excellent short history of the state that he knows so well. *The Texas Story* is a book that Texans and historians will enjoy and keep for handy reference. And, no doubt, it will be used to good advantage in the classroom. The student of social history—who likes to unravel those tangled threads of “trends” and the clash and mingling of race, creeds, and cultures—might object that there is not enough of that sort of material in *The Texas Story*. However, the threads are there. Steen dodges no issue and he has no axe to grind. He is fair. I wish that Professor Steen had used another fifty pages to elaborate on some of those interesting (if not spectacular) minor characters of the state’s history, and another fifty to give us some of those notable tall tales of Texas. These yarns, however, properly belong in another book. And the reader will find Professor Steen’s lists of selected readings invaluable. The whole history of Texas is here, dates and places, elections and personalities: from Spindletop’s four million dollar forty-five square feet of land to San Angelo’s Big Red Rooster; from the Turk to Beauford Jester (no resemblance); from the tidelands to the Great Plains. The author is at his best in his account of the war for independence. *The Texas Story* is an excellent short history. The index is complete and the book covers so many places, dates, events, and names in Texas history that it belongs on the library shelf of anyone who is interested in Texas. And who isn’t?

JOSEPH E. KELLEAM, *Oklahoma City*

THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF MISSOURI: A SEMICENTENNIAL HISTORY. By *Floyd C. Shoemaker*. (Columbia, the Society, 1948, pp. 193.) Mr. Shoemaker has been connected with the State Historical Society of Missouri since 1910, and as its secretary since 1915. In this book, issued in commemoration of its semicentennial anniversary, he has set forth step by step the growth and development of the society since its inception in 1898, dividing it into four definite periods. The first period is given to the beginnings of the society as first instituted under the auspices of the Missouri Press Association; the second period is a record of its foundations as represented by state appropriations, the acquisition of material, the launching of its publications, and securing a permanent repository. The third period is the years “devoted to building a great state-wide organization and a balanced historical library, to publish a magazine and documentary volumes of nation-wide repute,” the fourth period “fruition and maturity” as evidenced by selectivity of acquisition, a paying membership of 4,212, state appropriation of \$71,000.00, a library of some 300,000 volumes, over 400,000 pages of manuscript, a valuable art gallery, and taking rank as the fourth largest state newspaper library in the United States. The book is the story of a remarkable achievement, which Mr. Shoemaker in no sense minimizes and which justifies his evident pride in accomplishment.

IDRESS ALVORD, *Columbia, Missouri*

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GENERAL

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COLONIAL PERIOD

NORTH AND CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

EARLY JESUIT MISSIONS IN TARAHUMARA. By *Peter Masten Dunne*, S.J. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1948, pp. 276, \$3.75.) Third book by this author and fourth in a series which is tracing the expansion of the Jesuit mission system in North America, the present installment treats of activities in the Mexican state of Chihuahua from the early seventeenth century to expulsion of the Order from New Spain in 1767. As late-comers to the scene, Jesuits were perforce shunted into frontier areas, where evangelical pickings were relatively thin; in this instance their efforts among the Tarahumares, a primitive nonagricultural group of hunters even today, was especially difficult and fraught with trouble. The narrative given by Father Dunne is a series of cycles which recurred with almost monotonous regularity: peaceful penetration by a pioneer priest, a handful of conversions, establishment of missions, then violent revolts and massacres, with consequent collapse of the whole enterprise until again the Black Robes ventured forth. Each cycle had its heroes and devils, and thus the account is partially a martyrology which brings into prominence the names of Juan Fonte, Jácome Basilio, Joseph Neumann (who died peacefully), and finally, Herman Glandorf. It seems quite clear from the narrative that success of the missionary effort was closely correlated to the advance of the secular mining frontier. The author, Father Dunne, is a professed member of the Bolton school of historiography, and here exhibits most of its virtues, as well as its limitations. Based largely on manuscript sources, his volume provides a clear, somewhat pedestrian, detailed narrative, wholly trustworthy in its affirmations of fact. Questions of emphasis

and interpretation, as well as the latent problem of values, may not receive such assent. Somewhat dubious, for instance, is the proposition that the Order was banned because Voltairean *philosophes* "poisoned" Charles III's mind. The validity of the mission concept of "neophytes" is never questioned, or the deeper causes for failure of the later Jesuits to gain real hold on the minds of Indians more than superficially probed. At some point in the unfolding of the tale of the Borderlands and the mission pioneers, an attempt might be made to correlate the happenings at these marginal outposts with the main stream of events at the vastly more important centers on the main plateau of Mexico. Despite these strictures it can be safely said that *Early Jesuit Missions in Tarahumara* is a useful addition to mission literature of North America and a contribution to knowledge of a restricted area in New Spain. It is an attractive piece of historical craftsmanship, supported by adequate apparatus.

HOWARD F. CLINE, *Yale University*

PAPELES SOBRE LA TOMA DE LA HABANA POR LOS INGLESES EN 1762.

Preface by Guillermo de Blanck, Minister of Cuba in Italy. [Publicaciones del Archivo Nacional de Cuba, XVIII.] (Havana, Talleres del Archivo Nacional, 1948, pp. xvii, 208.) The basis for this documentary publication of the National Archive of Cuba is a group of papers presented to the Cuban government by the present earl of Albemarle, which were assembled by the third earl of Albemarle during the English occupation of Havana in 1762. These eighty-one documents form the first part of the volume. The second part includes certain papers from the Public Record Office, CO 117/1, with an introductory essay by Gabriel Suarez Solar, which presents a documentary account of the capture of Havana by the English. Finally, part three consists of documents from the National Archive dealing with the capture and occupation of Havana. The English originals are accompanied by Spanish translations. Besides the preface by De Blanck, who suggested the gift idea to the earl of Albemarle, there is an introduction by Captain Joaquín Llaverías, the director of the archive. This valuable publication presents details regarding an interesting episode of Cuban history.

ROSCOE R. HILL, *Washington, D. C.*

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American Historical Association

The 1949 meeting of the American Historical Association will be held in Boston, December 28, 29, and 30.

The Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association will hold its 1949 annual meeting at Mills College, Oakland, California, on December 28, 29, and 30.

Other Historical Activities

The papers of the late General "Billy" Mitchell, commander in World War I of United States aviation in France and subsequently director of military aviation in the United States Army, have recently been presented to the Library of Congress by members of his family. They constitute an invaluable source of information about the early days of military aviation in the United States.

The Library has received the papers of the late Sophonisba P. Breckinridge of the University of Chicago, who had previously presented extensive groups of Breckinridge family papers. Professor Breckinridge's papers consist mainly of professional and personal correspondence from about 1902, when she began her distinguished career as a teacher of public welfare administration at the University of Chicago, to the time of her death in 1948. They include correspondence with Jane Addams, Katharine Lenroot, Mary Anderson, and other leaders in civic and philanthropic work as well as material on the international congresses she attended.

The papers of Thomas Allen Jenckes (1818-75), noted patent attorney and member of Congress from Rhode Island from 1863 to 1871, have been presented to the Library by his grandson, Thomas A. Jenckes of Providence. They include his extensive files as counsel in important patent litigation and a group of papers relating to the Crédit Mobilier investigation; and business letters received by him during the last twenty years of his life.

Other recent acquisitions of the Library include stenographic reports of the convention of the Conference for Progressive Political Action, July 4-5, 1924, which nominated Senator Robert M. LaFollette for President, and of the post-campaign convention held in Chicago on February 21 and 22, 1925, and a manuscript journal kept by Edward T. Tayloe while acting as secretary to Joel R. Poinsett in Mexico from 1825 to 1828, which contains descriptions of places visited, information about mining districts, and comments on the social and economic life of the country.

From December, 1948, to March, 1949, some 3,000,000 papers, or almost one third, in bulk, of the manuscript holdings of the Library have been boxed and

shelved. Included are the papers of Gifford Pinchot, William E. Borah, and others that have been in the Library for some time, also recent acquisitions, such as the papers of Josephus Daniels, Ben Lindsey, and Albert J. Beveridge. The material fills over six thousand boxes, which in turn fill almost a mile of shelving. Much more work on the arrangement of these papers should be done, but they are at least physically accessible. The Oscar S. Straus Papers have been arranged in a chronological series and an index and calendar with cross-index, composed of about 22,000 entries, has recently been completed on funds supplied by the Oscar S. Straus Memorial Association.

Records, ranging in date from 1816 to 1945, of eighty consular and diplomatic posts located throughout the world have recently been received by the National Archives from the Department of State. The Panama Canal has transferred records, 1879-89, of the French canal company organized under Ferdinand de Lesseps, which were turned over to the second Isthmian Canal Commission in 1904. Among other records received recently by the National Archives are Selective Service System records, 1940-47, chiefly microfilmed, including instructions from state headquarters to local boards, materials relating to conscientious objectors, case files of registrants who appealed to the President, and docket books of the Presidential Appeal Board; records of the Monuments, Fine Arts, and Archives Section of the U. S. Office of Military Government for Germany, 1946-47, consisting of questionnaires, reports, and about 1,800 photographs of war-damaged cultural institutions and monuments in the U. S. zone of Germany; and records of the 1949 Inaugural Committee.

An agreement has been reached between the National Archives and the Library of Congress on their provinces in the field of motion pictures. Both have authority to acquire government and non-government films, with the result that there has been some overlapping in acquisitions. To prevent duplication of effort, promote operational efficiency, and contribute to governmental economy, the National Archives has agreed to relinquish its interest in non-government films and to be exclusively responsible for films produced by or for agencies of the United States government that become part of their records. In turn, the Library has agreed to limit its acquisitions to non-government films.

Negative microcopies, positive prints of which may be purchased, have been made recently of the "Captains' Letters" to the Secretary of the Navy, 1826-40 (172 rolls); population schedules of the census of 1830 for New Jersey (5 rolls) and New Hampshire (5 rolls); dispatches from U. S. ministers to Japan, 1858-77 (31 rolls); papers of General Wilhelm Groener, 1877-1938 (27 rolls); and certificates of registry, enrollment, and license issued at Edgartown, Massachusetts, 1815-1913 (9 rolls). Recently issued publications of the National Archives include two *Reference Information Circulars* (No. 38, *Materials in the National Archives Relating to India*, by Purnendu Basu, and No. 39, *Materials in the National Archives Relating to World War II*, by G. Philip Bauer), a *Preliminary Inventory*

of the Records of the United States Secret Service, by Lyle J. Holverstott, and a *Preliminary Inventory of the Records of the Forest Service*, by Harold T. Pinkett.

Former Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, jr., has given to the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library the extensive collection of personal papers accumulated by him during his period of service in Washington. The papers, which have become known as the "Morgenthau Diary," consist of 864 typescript volumes of private notes and memorandums, copies of letters, transcripts of conferences, and similar materials accumulated by Mr. Morgenthau in the period 1933-45. Because of the intimately personal character of many of the papers in the collection, Mr. Morgenthau has stipulated that during his lifetime they may be examined only by persons authorized by him. After his death they will be open for research purposes, except for certain specified categories of documents, access to which will be restricted for a period of twenty-five years. All of Franklin D. Roosevelt's political papers and correspondence for the period prior to 1933, except for a small group in the period 1928-32, have now been opened for research purposes. Among papers of the White House period that have recently been made available for use are all copies of drafts of President Roosevelt's speeches and public statements, reading copies of speeches, and the background materials gathered in the preparation of speeches. The White House papers bearing on philatelic matters have also been opened for use.

The Trustees of the Huntington Library, in pursuance of their policy of encouraging research in the humanities, have made some important decisions. They will add two scholars to the permanent research group as soon as the right men can be found. One will be in the field of English literature of the Renaissance and the other in the colonial period of American history or literature. In each case preference will be given to a youngish scholar of broad interests over the narrow specialist. Whenever available, a considerable sum will be devoted each year, beginning in 1950, to fellowships, two senior of \$7,500 each and three junior of \$4,000 each, plus a smaller amount for grants-in-aid. In making awards care will normally be taken to see that the subjects candidates wish to study fall within areas in which the library's resources are richest. As the library intends to pursue a program of study of Anglo-Saxon civilization in the seventeenth century, scholars writing on topics that fit in with such a program will be considered first in awarding fellowships or grants. The study of the cultural, economic, and social history of the Southwest will be carried on with unabated vigor under the direction of Robert Glass Cleland. In furtherance of this project fellowships and grants-in-aid will be provided in the future as in the past.

The Wisconsin Historical Society announces the completion of its three-year project to microfilm the 486 volumes of the Draper manuscripts. A complete positive film may be purchased for \$1,500, or the fifty series into which the manuscripts are divided may be purchased separately.

Donald Mugridge has been granted a leave of absence by the Library of Congress to edit the complete correspondence of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson for the Institute of Early American History and Culture. The volume is expected to be published toward the end of 1950. Work on this project has been made possible by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to the College of William and Mary, co-sponsor of the institute.

J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton of the University of North Carolina is editing the papers of William A. Graham, who was governor of North Carolina, United States and Confederate senator, Secretary of the Navy, Whig candidate for Vice President, and member of the secession convention of North Carolina. He will be grateful for information as to the whereabouts of letters or other documents written by Graham, or relating to him.

A project to publish the selected papers of Sir Joseph Banks, under the general editorship of Dr. J. C. Beaglehole, is being undertaken by the Mitchell Library of Sydney, Australia. In addition to the large collection in the Mitchell Library, Miss Phyllis Mander Jones, the librarian in charge, has had access during a recent visit to England and America to the Banks papers in the British Museum of Natural History, in the library of the Royal Society and at Kew Gardens in London, and in the United States to collections in the Yale Library and the Sutro collection in San Francisco. She would be most grateful for information about other Banks papers and correspondence. The address is Phyllis Mander Jones, Librarian, the Mitchell Library, Macquarie Street, Sydney, New South Wales, Australia.

As Volume XIX of its publications the National Archives of Cuba has made available to all Spanish-speaking countries a translation of the report of Dr. Roscoe R. Hill on *The National Archives of Latin America*. This guide was first published in this country by the Harvard University Press under the sponsorship of the Joint Committee on Latin American Studies. The publication of this manual in Spanish is another evidence of the lively and intelligent interest of Cuban scholars in promoting the preservation and use of their national records and those of their sister republics.

The October-December, 1948, issue of *Annales (Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations)*, published by the Librairie Armand Colin in Paris, is devoted entirely to Latin America. In addition to an introduction by Lucien Febvre, editor of the journal, on "L'Amérique du Sud devant l'histoire," there are "forty-eight studies, essays, book reviews, and notes" on various phases of Latin American life. Some of the essays are historical and all interpretive comment has a historical background.

The Office of Education in Washington has issued an elaborate statistical summary entitled *Earned Degrees Conferred by Higher Educational Institutions*,

1947-48. The table giving major fields of study shows that a total of 9,245 bachelors candidates majored in history in 1,214 degree-granting institutions. Of these 5,669 were men and 3,576 were women. The master's degree was conferred on 1,085 men and 481 women. The doctor's degree was given 162 men and 135 women. The grand total in 1947-48 for all degrees is nearly a third of a million.

The *Canadian Historical Review* is preparing its annual list of theses, both M.A. and Ph.D., dealing with Canadian history. Students or their advisers are asked to communicate promptly with Professor George W. Brown, University Press, Toronto, Canada. The notation should cover name and initials, degrees held and institution granting them, title of thesis, and degree sought.

For 1949, the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association offers awards for the best works submitted in American history, European history, and Pacific history. The competition is open to men and women in the states, territories, and provinces west of the Rocky Mountains, from which the Pacific Coast Branch draws its members. They are designed to give recognition to younger scholars who have not previously published any important work. The award in each of the three fields carries an honorarium of \$25. Works may be submitted either by the writers or by the teachers under whose direction they were prepared. They may be in manuscript or printed form, but must have been completed within three years prior to October 1, 1949, the closing date for entries. Only works of book length should be submitted; articles or seminar papers are not acceptable. Works should be submitted to the chairman of the appropriate committee. The committees for 1949 are: American history—Osgood Hardy, Occidental College (chairman), Austin E. Hutcheson, University of Nevada, and Herman J. Deutsch, Washington State College; European history—Andrew Fish, University of Washington (chairman), Alfred Larson, University of Wyoming, and Francis J. Bowman, University of Southern California; Pacific history—Rixford K. Snyder, Stanford University (chairman), Paul S. Dull, University of Oregon, and Allan B. Cole, Pomona College. The results of the competition will be announced at the annual business meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch in December, 1949, and will be published in the *Pacific Historical Review*.

At the annual business meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch held in Smith Hall, University of Washington, on December 29 the following awards were made for 1948: American history, equal credit to *Douglas of the Fir* by A. G. Harvey and *California Gold* by Rodman W. Paul, honorable mention to *William Douglass* by Raymond Muse; European history, to *The Sound Trade and Anglo-Dutch Conflict, 1640-1654* by Harold A. Hansen, honorable mention to *The English Christian and the Problem of War, 1914-1918* by L. Mark Hamilton; Pacific history, to Raymond A. Rydell for *The Cape Horn Route to the Pacific*.

Any graduate student preparing a dissertation on Swedish immigration is eligible for a supporting fellowship established by the Swedish Pioneer Centennial Association. Inquiries should be directed to President Conrad Bergendoff, Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois.

The following Guggenheim fellowships for 1949-50 have been awarded for research in historical and related subjects: Raymond Adrien de Roover, Wells College, commercial capitalism and business organization in the Middle Ages; Ruth Allan McIntyre, Wells College, the English merchant class as promoters of early seventeenth century discovery and of colonial enterprise; Arna Wendell Bontemps, Fisk University, a three-way biography of Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington, and W. E. B. Du Bois; Mrs. Rackham Holt, New York City, Sir Wilfred Grenfell; Arthur Stanley Link, Princeton University, Woodrow Wilson; Jeannette Mirsky, New York City, Eli Whitney and the impact of his inventive and business ability on the history of the United States; Dora Neill Raymond, Sweet Briar College, the first earl of Lytton; Wallace Earle Stegner, Stanford University, Major John Wesley Powell, founder of the plan of scientific bureaus in the federal government; Victor Wolfgang von Hagen, Westport, Connecticut, Ephraim George Squier (1821-88), American archaeologist and engineer; Charles Maurice Wiltse, Washington, D. C., John Caldwell Calhoun; Helene Maxwell Hooker, Los Angeles, California, Francis J. Heney, 1859-1937, and the reform and progressive movements in the Far West; Robert A. Kann, Rutgers University, history of the German Austrians in modern times; Robert Stuart Hoyt, State University of Iowa, constitutional history of the royal demesne in England; Archibald Smith Foord, Yale University, the development of "His Majesty's Opposition" in England; Arthur Preston Whitaker, University of Pennsylvania, the spread of the eighteenth century Enlightenment from England and France to Spain and Spanish America; Carl Vincent Confer, Syracuse University, colonialism in France; Paul Harold Beik, Swarthmore College, conflicting social philosophies in the French Revolution; Elias J. Bickerman, New School for Social Research, the international law of Greece and Rome; Paul Wallace Gates, Cornell University, an agricultural history of the United States, 1815-60; Francis Rarick Johnson, Stanford University, the history of scientific thought and activity in Elizabethan England; Ronald N. Walpole, University of California, Berkeley, the legend of Charlemagne and the beginnings of French historiography; Cora Elizabeth Lutz, Wilson College, education in the Middle Ages; Charles de Tolnay, Princeton, New Jersey, the life and work of Michelangelo in the period 1534-64; Kenneth Meyer Setton, University of Manitoba, Athens in the Middle Ages.

The Committee on Research in Economic History continues to support studies in its chosen field of the relation of government to American economic development. It has recently granted funds to Professor Carter Goodrich so that four of his students will receive stipends as resident fellows in American economic

history. Similarly the Research Center in Entrepreneurial History at Harvard received funds to support four resident fellows. The committee has appointed to national fellowships in economic history the following: Whitney K. Bates, University of Wisconsin; Ping-ti Ho, University of British Columbia; Douglas C. North and Jelle C. Riemersma, University of California, Berkeley; Arthur J. R. Smith and Lloyd Ulman, Harvard University; and Robert B. Johnson, Virginia Union University. Grants to aid research have been made to Professor M. A. Adelman and Robert K. Lamb of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The former seeks to extend the historical aspects of his study of the Great Atlantic and Pacific Tea Company and the latter is working on a volume devoted to the role of the family in American economic development over the first decades of our national existence.

The Pulitzer Prize in history for 1948 was awarded Professor Roy Nichols of the University of Pennsylvania for his volume covering the five years before the Civil War, *The Disruption of American Democracy* (see *American Historical Review*, October, 1948, p. 161). The corresponding prize for biography went to Robert Sherwood for his volume, *Roosevelt and Hopkins*.

Ralph E. Turner, Durfee professor of history in Yale University, has been awarded a grant by the Rockefeller Foundation for a fifteen-month study of recent cultural changes in Asia, India, the Middle East, and Western Europe.

Howard Robinson, professor of history and acting dean of Oberlin College, has been given the Ohio Academy of History annual certificate of award for outstanding historical achievement for his recent book *The History of the British Post Office* (Princeton, 1948).

Charles J. Kennedy of the University of Nebraska has been awarded the fellowship in business history for 1949-50 of the Business Historical Society. The award enables the recipient to spend twelve months of study and research at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration.

The University of Wyoming's fifth annual Institute of International Affairs will be held from July 18 to August 19, 1949, and will be devoted to "Problems of American Foreign Policy." Featured lecturers will include Samuel Flagg Bemis, Stanley Hornbeck, Alexander Kerensky, and Philipp Lohman. Gale W. McGee, assistant professor of American history, has been appointed chairman of the institute.

The French History Society (Société d'Histoire de France) has recently been founded by a group of representative historians whose work is concerned primarily with France. The society, designed to embrace all aspects of French

history—political, constitutional, diplomatic, social, economic, cultural, and aesthetic—from the earliest times to the contemporary era, with special attention to questions of Franco-American relations, has as its purpose the stimulation of current research in French history by increasing the publication of scholarly studies, by facilitating the exchange of ideas, and by promoting a wider interest in French history and culture. In addition to the publication of a journal, the society will arrange lectures and conferences on subjects of general interest to the membership. Work is also to be started on a comprehensive bibliography of the contributions made by American scholars to the study of French history and related fields. The annual dues of three dollars will entitle members to receive all publications and to participate in all activities. Communications should be addressed to the president, Dr. Henri Peyre, French History Society, 934 Fifth Avenue, New York 21, N. Y.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held a very successful annual meeting in Madison, Wisconsin, April 14–16. The presidential address by Professor Dwight L. Dumond of the University of Michigan will be printed in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* and is commended to the careful reading of those who did not hear it. The registered attendance was about 550, but the actual attendance at the many sessions must have exceeded this by something like two hundred. Professor C. C. Rister of the University of Oklahoma was elected president for the coming year. The meeting for 1950 will be in Oklahoma City.

Personal

APPOINTMENTS AND STAFF CHANGES

Kenneth Scott Latourette of Yale University delivered the 1949 Condon lectures at the University of Oregon in March. His topics were "The China That Has Been" and "The China That Is to Be."

Allan Nevins gave the Taft Memorial Lectures on American History in March at the University of Cincinnati. The topics of his lectures were "Stephen A. Douglas: A Revaluation of His Career" and "John Brown: Hero, Monomaniac, or Criminal."

John A. Krout, professor of history in Columbia University, has been named dean of the graduate faculties in the same institution.

Nelson P. Mead, professor of history and chairman of the department at the City College, New York, retired on February 1, 1949, after forty-seven years of service. From 1938 to 1941 Professor Mead was the acting president of the

City College. He is succeeded as chairman by Professor Joseph E. Wisan, who has been teaching at the college since 1922.

Ernst H. Kantorowicz of the University of California at Berkeley has been appointed a corresponding fellow of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.

Sterling Dow, professor of history and Greek in Harvard University, has been appointed John E. Hudson professor of archaeology in the same institution.

Robert G. Albion, of Princeton University, will hold the newly established Gardiner professorship of oceanic history and affairs in Harvard University.

Richard H. Shryock of the University of Pennsylvania has accepted appointment as William Welch professor of the history of medicine in the Johns Hopkins University.

Max Lerner has been appointed professor of American civilization in Brandeis University. He will take up his new duties this fall.

Richard B. Morris has been appointed professor of American history in the graduate school of Columbia University.

Chester McArthur Destler, chairman of the department of history and government in Connecticut College, has been appointed to the newly endowed Charles J. McCurdy professorship of history in that institution.

Frank L. Owsley, professor of history in Vanderbilt University, has been appointed to the newly created Victor Hugo Friedman professorship in Southern history in the University of Alabama. He will begin his new duties in September.

Lowell J. Ragatz, formerly of George Washington University, has been appointed chairman of the department of history in Ohio State University, to succeed the late George Washburne. Dr. Ragatz will assume his new duties on October 1.

Edgar J. Fisher will hold the Carter Glass chair of government at Sweet Briar College, assuming his duties with the beginning of the 1949-50 academic year.

Saul K. Padover has been appointed to a professorship for 1949-50 in the New School for Social Research.

Alonzo L. Baker, formerly of the University of Southern California, has

accepted appointment as professor of history and political science in the College of the Pacific at Stockton, California.

Hans Kohn, professor of history in Smith College, will be on leave of absence during the coming academic year. This summer he is giving a course on "America and Europe" in the Summer School of European Studies sponsored by the University of Zürich and the Federal Institute of Technology. Also at Smith College, Harold U. Faulkner, professor of history, has been granted leave of absence for the second semester 1949-50, and Elizabeth Koffka, associate professor of history, has been granted sabbatical leave for the first semester. Appointments include Max Salvadori and David Donald, associate professors of history, and Klemens Klemperer and Nellie Schargo Hoyt, instructors in history.

David M. Potter, professor of history in Yale University, has been appointed editor of the *Yale Review* to succeed Helen MacAfee, who is retiring after fifteen years of service. Paul M. Pickrel, assistant professor of history, has been named managing editor.

The University of Kentucky has succeeded Vanderbilt University as sponsor of the *Journal of Southern History*. Beginning with the first number of the 1949 volume, Professors Thomas D. Clark and J. Merton England, both of the department of history of the University of Kentucky, will act as managing editor and editorial associate respectively.

John Tate Lanning of Duke University is on sabbatical leave to do research in the Spanish Archives. He will give special attention to the Spanish Empire in America prior to the nineteenth century.

Willson H. Coates, on leave from the University of Rochester, is in England from April to September of this year to continue his research on the English Long Parliament and the leadership of John Pym and Edward Hyde.

Viola F. Barnes, on sabbatical leave from Mount Holyoke College, has gone to England, where she expects to complete a book on the American revolution.

John J. Johnson, of Stanford University, has been doing research in Brazil during the spring and summer terms.

Dora Mae Clark, professor of political science and American history in Wilson College, has been granted leave of absence for research and travel.

Mary G. Mason, assistant professor of history in Vassar College, has been granted a faculty fellowship for a full year, to complete for publication a biblio-

graphy of material relating to China and the Chinese published in English, French, and German between 1840 and 1876.

W. Turrentine Jackson of the University of Chicago will be visiting professor of United States history at the University of Glasgow for the academic year 1949-50.

The department of history of Emory University announces that Bell I. Wiley, of Louisiana State University, has been appointed professor of history, Carl G. Gustavson, of Ohio University, is visiting lecturer for the summer term, and Francis S. Benjamin, Jr., has been awarded a Carnegie grant-in-aid for research in Italy and France during the coming fall term.

Randolph C. Downes has been promoted to professor of history in the University of Toledo.

Thomas H. LeDuc has been reappointed associate professor of history on a one-year basis in Oberlin College.

Basil Rauch has been promoted to associate professor of history in Barnard College, Columbia University.

Frank Freidel, of Vassar College, has accepted an appointment as assistant professor of history in the University of Illinois.

In Brown University Barnaby C. Keeney, William F. Church, and Edmund S. Morgan have been promoted to associate professors of history.

Wyndham M. Southgate of Denison University has been promoted to associate professor of history and English.

Horace W. Raper, formerly of the University of North Carolina, has accepted a position as assistant professor of history at East Kentucky State Teachers College, Richmond, Kentucky.

Jackson Turner Main has been promoted to assistant professor of history in Washington and Jefferson College.

Harry W. Anderson, of Stanford University, has been acting instructor of history and political science at the University of Nevada, replacing the late Phillip G. Auchampaugh.

Robert M. Sutton and Nelson F. Norman have been appointed instructors in history in the University of Illinois.

Dexter Perkins, chairman of the department of history in the University of Rochester, is taking part in the Salzburg Seminar in American Studies during July and August. In March and April of this year Dr. Perkins delivered the Gottesman Foundation lectures at the University of Uppsala on American diplomatic history.

Fred Harvey Harrington of the University of Wisconsin is teaching in the summer session of the University of Pennsylvania.

On the staff of the summer session of the University of Colorado are Max Savelle, of the University of Washington, for the first half, and Ernest Osgood, of the University of Minnesota, for the second half; and for the whole quarter: Otakar Odlozilik, formerly of Charles University, Prague, who has been at the University of Kansas during the past spring semester; Donald J. McDougall, of the University of Toronto; and Oscar W. Reinmuth, of the University of Texas.

William B. Hesseltine of the University of Wisconsin is teaching in the summer session of the University of California, Berkeley.

Gerhard Masur of Sweet Briar College is teaching Latin-American history in the summer session of the University of Virginia.

Clement Eaton of the University of Kentucky is teaching in the summer session of the University of Wisconsin.

Austin E. Hutcheson of the University of Nevada is on the staff of the summer session in Western Reserve University.

Hans E. Hirsch, chairman of the department of social sciences in Elon College, is teaching in the summer session of the University of Vermont.

Duane D. Smith of the University of Toledo is teaching in the summer session of West Virginia University.

RECENT DEATHS

Marcus Wilson Jernegan, professor emeritus of American history, University of Chicago, died suddenly of a heart attack at the age of seventy-six years at his birthplace, Edgartown, Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts, on February 19, 1949. He was a member of the American Historical Association for over forty years and served on many of its committees.

After receiving his bachelor's and master's degrees from Brown University, where he studied under Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, Professor Jernegan completed

work for the doctorate at the University of Chicago in 1906. Further study and research at the University of London and at the Carnegie Institution in Washington were followed by his appointment to the faculty of the University of Chicago in 1908. During his twenty-nine years there he introduced courses in historical method and American historiography and guided the research of many graduate students in colonial history. They held him in high esteem because of his close familiarity with the social and economic aspects of colonial life, his unrivaled bibliographical knowledge, and above all because of the generosity with which he shared with them his ideas, his time, and the hospitality of his home. No colleague could have been more kindly in his personal relationships or more unselfish and co-operative in his service to his department and to his university. At the time of his retirement, in 1937, the contributions of many of his former students assured the publication in his honor of *The Marcus W. Jernegan Essays in American Historiography*.

The standard of thoroughness to which he obliged his students to conform was also the measure whereby he tested the results of his own never-ending research. Perhaps it was chiefly for this reason, his unwillingness to release a manuscript to press until he had looked awhile longer for primary source materials, that made his career of scholarship seem incomplete even though it extended for more than a half century following the publication of his *History of the Tammany Societies of Rhode Island* in 1897. Much of his life was devoted to an investigation of colonial education and its English background, and to the collection of unpublished sources on emigration from England and western Europe to America between 1607 and 1820. His research in the first of these fields is represented by a half-dozen articles, mostly published in the *School Review* between 1915 and 1920. These and as many other previously published essays on slavery, indentured servitude, and poor relief, were brought together into one volume under the title *Laboring and Dependent Classes in Colonial America, 1607-1783* (Chicago, 1931).

At the time of his death, Professor Jernegan was bringing to completion nearly twenty years of labor devoted to collecting, translating where needed, and editing with critical introductions, the emigration documents mentioned above. It is expected that these eventually will appear in book form. He was also the author of *The American Colonies, 1492-1750* in the "Epochs of American History" series (New York, 1929), and co-author of a high-school textbook, *The Growth of the American People*, brought out by the same publisher (Longmans, Green and Company) in 1934.

Although he lived in Chicago for so many years, his home, in spirit at least, was ever on the Vineyard. There his father had been one of a notable group of whaling captains in the mid-nineteenth century. As an intellectual hobby, reflecting many memories of his youth as well as much research, Professor Jernegan made himself an authority on the history of whaling. To those who knew him well he seemed never happier than when sharing in the program of the Dukes County Historical Society at Edgartown or when showing a friend

the places of historical interest on "his" island and chuckling about its superiorities as compared with neighboring Nantucket.

Albert Howe Lybyer, professor emeritus of history at the University of Illinois, died suddenly from a heart ailment while visiting with friends in Decatur, Illinois, March 28, 1949. Born in 1876 near Putnamville, Indiana, he received his bachelor's degree from Princeton University in 1896. He received also a master's degree from Princeton in 1899, and was graduated from the Princeton theological seminary in 1900. Between 1900 and 1907 he taught mathematics at Robert College near Constantinople, then went as a fellow and assistant in history to Harvard University, at which institution he completed his work for the doctorate under the direction of the late Professor A. C. Coolidge in 1909. After teaching four years at Oberlin College, 1909-1913, he served for thirty-one years on the staff of the history department of the University of Illinois, first as associate professor, 1913-1916, and then as professor, 1916 to the time of his retirement in 1944. He was a member of the committee headed by Colonel House in 1918 for inquiry into the terms of peace in World War I, and served as a general technical advisor to the King-Crane Commission on mandates in Turkey in 1919.

Professor Lybyer was an outstanding specialist in the history of the Near East, and will long be remembered in scholarly circles especially for his comprehensive study of *The Government of the Ottoman Empire in the Time of Suleiman the Magnificent* (Cambridge, Mass., 1913), and for his noteworthy articles on the Ottoman Turks and routes of oriental trade, published in the *Annual Report* of the American Historical Association for 1914, and the *English Historical Review*, October, 1915. He made many contributions to historical journals and to various other publications, notably encyclopedias and annuals. Furthermore, he served as president of the New Orient Society of America, 1936-39. He was a man of wide cultural interests, was associated with many philanthropic and civic enterprises, was a lover of outdoor life, and was a keen and enthusiastic student of current affairs. He was much in demand as a public speaker and was popular as a teacher both on the undergraduate and graduate levels. Those who pursued advanced research studies under his direction may be numbered by the scores, and his course in recent European history, broadcast by radio, ranked for long among the largest of the elective upper-class courses on the campus at Urbana-Champaign.

Frank Wesley Pitman, professor of history, retired, of Pomona College died suddenly at his home in Claremont, California, on April 11, 1949. He had not been very robust for the past two months but had gone about his duties regularly until an hour before he collapsed. He was sixty-seven years of age.

Dr. Pitman was born and raised in New Haven, Connecticut. He received his A. B. in 1904, his master of arts degree in 1906, his doctorate in 1914, all from Yale University. He taught at the Sheffield Scientific School at Yale from

1910 to 1924, at which time he transferred temporarily for a year and then permanently to Pomona College. He retired from active teaching in the College and in the Claremont Graduate School in 1948.

There were several strong passions in the life of Frank Pitman. He had the greatest reverence for the English way of life and its civilizing influence on all parts of the world into which it reached. It was in this connection that he studied the English tutelage of the people of the British West Indies as these peoples grew in social consciousness and in the capacity for self-government. On two extended periods Mr. Pitman worked in British colonial records in London and for one summer he studied in Jamaica under a Social Science Research Council grant. As a result of these efforts there came from his pen *The Development of the British West Indies, 1700-1763* (1917), *Slavery on the British West Indies Plantations in the Eighteenth Century* (1926), and the organization of a new volume which he was ready to bring into form on the period since 1870. The bibliography on this subject was brought together in his portion of the section on "Colonial Expansion" in *A Guide to Historical Literature*, edited by Professor George M. Dutcher and others (1931).

A second great urge in Frank Pitman's mind was the interpretation of the religious development of the cultures of the West. His power of integration of cultural factors that went into the making of the great Christian nations was recognized by all of his students. He did not neglect the other religions as they influenced European life; he was constructively critical, very objective or detached, and always inspiring as he talked on these matters.

His third great interest was in liberal education—liberal in the sense of freedom from all forms of intellectual or spiritual domination. With this liberal spirit in the realm of the intellect he combined a strong but judicious attitude toward socialization in the Western world. This moderate social liberalism was unusually well based upon accurate information in the realms of economics and politics. It was from this high level of spiritual and social insight that he interpreted America, the British West Indies, and the progress of reform in Russia and of labor movements in Britain. The joining of scholarship and humane interest was his great contribution during the thirty-eight years he spent in college and university teaching.

James Truslow Adams, the well-known historian, publicist, and editor, died May 18 at his home in Southport, Connecticut. He was seventy years of age. Like James Ford Rhodes, he first achieved financial independence in business before turning to the writing of history. He was for some twelve or thirteen years a broker on Wall Street and a railroad executive. He first tried his hand at writing local history and then turned to a broader field. His *Founding of New England* (1921) brought him high credit and was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 1922. This was followed by many other volumes, either written or compiled. His *Epic of America* was a most successful popular sketch of American history widely read

and translated into other languages. He wrote a study of Henry Adams and a volume, *The Adams Family*. He was in no way related to the Massachusetts Adamses but came of Virginian forebears. As an associate in the publishing firm of Scribner's Sons, his later activity was chiefly in sponsoring and editing the *Album of American History* and the *Atlas of American History*. Honorary degrees and membership in learned bodies at home and abroad attested his wide hold on the reading public. His *Founding of New England* will still stand as a rare blend of scholarship and literary skill. He was a life member of the American Historical Association and a contributor to the *Review*.

In the death of George M. McCune, November 5, 1948, American scholarship lost its leading authority in the field of Korean history and institutions. His devotion to research had gained him this pre-eminence at forty years of age. The breadth and uniqueness of his knowledge had made him in all matters touching Korea an invaluable counsellor of governments, students, and fellow scholars. He was born in Korea in 1908. His collegiate education through the master's degree was obtained at Occidental College. A traveling fellowship from the University of California enabled him to return to Korea for work on his doctor's degree in 1941. From 1942 to 1945 he served in Washington in the Office of Strategic Services and the State Department. At the time of his death he was an associate professor of history in the University of California. A volume by him on *Modern Korea* is in press.

Winston B. Thorson, associate professor of modern European history at the State College of Washington, died at Pullman, Washington, on April 30 at the age of thirty-five. He received his doctorate at the University of Minnesota in 1940 and taught at Nebraska State Teachers College, Peru, from 1938 until 1943, when he came to the State College of Washington. Seldom had a young man established himself so quickly on a college campus. An able teacher, a methodical and critical scholar, and an exceptionally good public speaker, he was soon called upon to assume leadership in a movement to broaden the undergraduate curriculum in Pacific Northwest universities and colleges, particularly in the social sciences. The college community felt the inspiration of his abiding faith in and great hope for the United Nations. His research interests were French diplomacy during the late nineteenth century and American press opinion during great diplomatic crises. Nothing could attest more effectively to the high esteem in which his students held him than the spontaneous way in which they have initiated and are promoting the establishment of the Winston B. Thorson Scholarship in the social sciences at the State College.

John Musser, dean emeritus of New York University, died March 21 after a University of Pennsylvania, where he held a Harrison fellowship and was also long ill. He received both his bachelor's and doctor's degrees from the

an instructor, 1912-14. After a year on the staff at Swarthmore he went to New York University, rising through the ranks from instructor to full professor of history (1924) and dean of the graduate school (1936-43). His chief publication was *The Establishment of Maximilian's Empire in Mexico* (1918).

Julia Swift Orvis, emeritus Alice Freeman Palmer professor of history in Wellesley College, died March 17 at the age of seventy-six. She was a graduate of Vassar in 1895, studied two years at the Sorbonne, and received her doctor's degree from Cornell University in 1907. All her teaching career from 1899 until her retirement in 1941 was as a member of the faculty of Wellesley. Her own special field of interest was the history of Poland. In 1916 she published a brief history of that country. She was active in peace organizations and in working for the cause of international conciliation.

Phillip Gerald Auchampaugh, associate professor of history and political science at the University of Nevada since 1941, died on January 30. Born in Brooklyn in 1897, he held degrees of A.B. from New York State Teachers College, 1920; A.M. from Syracuse University, 1921; Ph.D. from Clark University, 1924. He held a Syracuse scholarship and was American Antiquarian Society fellow at Clark. His teaching career included posts at Buffalo State Normal School, 1921-25; Syracuse, 1925-26; Minnesota State Teachers College at Duluth, 1926-37; historian with the United States Park Service, 1937-39; Blue Ridge College, 1939-41; University of Nevada since 1941. He was author of two books, *James Buchanan and His Cabinet*, and *Robert Tyler*, and of numerous articles.

Melvin C. Jacobs, professor of history and head of the department in Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington, died April 16 at the age of fifty-eight. He was a graduate of Ursinus College, of the Princeton Theological Seminary, and in 1938 received the degree of doctor of philosophy from Columbia University. He had been on the staff of Whitman since 1926 and a member of this Association for the past twenty years. His research interests were in Oregon history.

Alexander Thomson, professor of history in Wesleyan University since 1942, died on January 5 at the age of forty-nine. Dr. Thomson was graduated from Bowdoin College in 1921, was a Rhodes scholar from 1922 to 1925, and received his doctor's degree from Cornell University in 1932. Before coming to Wesleyan University in 1928, he had served in Cornell and New York University. He had been a member of this Association since 1926.

Burton J. Hendrick, well known for his writings in history and biography, died in March of this year at the age of seventy-seven. After his graduation from Yale in 1895 he was engaged in journalism with daily papers and monthlies.

He was associated with Walter H. Page as associate editor of the *World's Work*. His two volumes, *The Life and Letters of Walter H. Page*, received the Pulitzer prize for biography in 1922, and in 1928 his *Training of an American* was similarly distinguished. The volume *Victory at Sea*, written with Admiral Sims, was given the Pulitzer award in history in 1920. He wrote a life of Andrew Carnegie, a study of the Lees of Virginia, a history of the American constitution, a life of General Gorgas, *Statesmen of the Lost Cause* (1939), and his last major publication, *Lincoln's War Cabinet* (1946). His historical studies were substantial, if not definitive, and he had the gift to reach and interest a large public.

Hugo Christian Martin Wendel, chairman of the department of history and government in Long Island University, died on January 16 at the age of sixty-four. Dr. Wendel received his bachelor's degree from Princeton in 1910 and his doctor's degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1918. Before going to Long Island University in 1928, he had been a member of the history departments of the University of Pennsylvania and New York University. He was the author of *Democracy in the New German Constitution* (1920), *The Evolution of Industrial Freedom* (1921), *Mediterranean Menace* (1927), and *The Protégé System in Morocco* (1930).

Ralph Ray Price, professor of history and civics at Kansas State Agricultural College, died December 30, 1948, at the age of seventy-six. He had been a member of the American Historical Association since 1903.

Camille Bloch, historian and archivist, member of the Institut de France, died in Paris on February 16, 1949, at the age of eighty-four. Born in 1865 in Thillot, in the Vosges, he attended the Collège de Remiremont, the Lycée Condorcet, the Sorbonne, and the École des Chartes. His distinguished career as archivist began in the Aude in 1891. He became archivist in the Loiret in 1896, and was made inspector general of libraries and archives in 1904. From 1909 on, he gave a course on French archives at the Sorbonne, while continuing archival work and historical publication. His research for many years was concerned with the French Revolution, for which period he published numerous volumes of documents and several monographs.

Following World War I, M. Bloch was appointed director of the Library and Museum of the Great War and of the library of contemporary documentation, with headquarters at the Château de Vincennes. In 1933, he published a judicious analysis of *Les causes de la guerre mondiale*, which appeared in English translation in 1935. His internationalism was further illustrated by his appointment as librarian of the Cité universitaire, where he lived and where he had contact with many foreign students. During the Nazi occupation, he went to the unoccupied zone and was for part of the time in hiding in a Benedictine monastery. After the liberation, he returned to the Cité universitaire and continued his

scholarly activities. As a member of a commission appointed to obtain the return of French documents taken by the Nazis, he worked for three years on identification and classification of the materials.

M. Bloch attended many international conferences of historians and archivists, contributed to numerous historical periodicals, directed several collective historical projects, held various offices in the Société de l'histoire de la Révolution française, and of the Société d'histoire moderne, of which he was honorary president in 1945. He was an officer of the Legion of Honor, and in 1945 or 1946 was made a member of the Académie des sciences morales et politiques (de l'Institut), at the same time as M. Renouvin, also known for his work on the outbreak of World War I. M. Bloch continued his scholarly work, with a keen mind, to the end. In 1947, he contributed a chapter on the U.S.S.R. and the Czech crisis to a volume *Études d'histoire moderne et contemporaine*, and, at the time of his death, he was engaged in writing a volume on the Munich crisis.

Less well known than Professors Seignobos and Renouvin outside of France, M. Bloch was universally known and respected in France, and his death leaves a gap that will not be easily filled. He always manifested an interest in world affairs and viewed history from a broad outlook. A meticulous archivist, he was also a creative historian.

The veteran authority on Russia, Sir Bernard Pares, died in New York, April 17, of pneumonia. He was still active at eighty-two years of age as a lecturer in the New School for Social Research and Sarah Lawrence College. His long life had been devoted to the study and interpretation of Russia, and he had hoped to reconcile Eastern and Western Europe. However, he lived to see himself violently denounced by the present regime. Besides his many books on Russia he was one of the founders of the School of Russian Studies at the University of Liverpool. From 1922 to 1939 he was director of the School of Slavonic and East European Studies in the University of London. His last book was an autobiography entitled, *A Wandering Scholar*.

Definite word has just come through that Major Alfred von Wegerer died, after an illness, in Berlin in 1945 just after the Russians entered the city. During World War I he served as an officer on the eastern front. After the war he organized an information bureau one of whose aims was to give a scholarly basis for a revision of the Versailles Treaty. For it he edited a monthly periodical, *Die Kriegsschuldfrage* (later *Berliner Monatshefte*), which contained a great deal of useful material on pre-1914 diplomatic history. He gave much kindly aid to scholars interested in the subject. He summed up his own years of study of the July, 1914, crisis in his detailed two-volume work, *Der Ausbruch des Weltkrieges*, 1914, published in 1939.

Walter Livingston Wright, jr., died in Princeton on May 16. A more adequate notice will appear in the October issue.

Communications

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I cannot ignore Professor John B. Wolf's misleading review of my *England and Napoleon III: A Study of the Rise of a Utopian Dictator* that you published in April of this year (p. 588). His statement that "preceding scholars, apparently, had already uncovered most of the material necessary for an understanding of the Second Empire" is not true. Any scholar working in this field knows there is a tremendous amount of material that has not been explored. As yet there is no definitive work on the Second Empire, and before it is written many monographs dealing with various phases of the subject, as for example, Anglo-French relations, must be written. It is true that some of the material that I cited has been read by other authors covering various phases of the establishment of the Second Empire, but it is not fair to imply that my conclusions were derived from evidence exploited by other writers. Actually my interpretation of the influence of the middle classes (English and French) was based on material that had not previously been used. Moreover, to say that my conclusions regarding the role of the bourgeoisie were based on preconceptions is not true. My views are the results of many years of research, and evidence upon which I based my interpretation is cited by me in the book. It is possible that Professor Wolf is influenced in his review by certain preconceptions and influences such as opposition to the middle-class approach. Certainly he makes no attempt to bring out the significance of other topics covered in my work, such as "Bonapartism and Radicalism," a subject that has not been developed and should be expanded into a book. Frankly I regret that Professor Wolf has written a review that is not fair to me, or to himself.

University of California

FRANKLIN C. PALM

Correction

An apology is due the reviewer, Professor Quigley, and the author, Professor von Muralet, for an unchecked editorial reversal of "former" and "latter" that was out of line with the reviewer's intent. The sentence on page 405 of the January issue should have read, "The former appear to him to be heavily outweighed by the latter."
G.S.F.

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